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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



H. Johannes Witteveen

A world government behind closed doors

A good many Americans know who Kurt Waldheim is but few have heard of H. Johannes Witteveen.

Even more Americans have heard of Andrew Young, and still less have heard of Sam Y. Cross.

Waldheim is the secretary general of and Young is the American ambassador to the United Nations. Witteveen is the managing director of and Cross the American representative to the International Monetary Fund. The IMF is an international economic agency that had its 33rd annual meeting in Washington last week.

While the UN gets more of the press's attention, the IMF may be becoming the more important world body. It lives and works in that rarefied realm of international capitalist enterprise where daily decisions can make or break countries and their governments.

This year, IMF decisions nearly toppled governments in Italy and Great Britain, precipitated riots in Egypt, and a continuing governmental crisis in Peru. In Brazil, Indonesia, Argentina, and, of course, Chile, it has established a reputation for encouraging sharp right turns. And in Portugal it helped dampen Premier Mario Soares' enthusiasm for a transition to socialism.

Much of the credit for the IMF's growing power must go to Witteveen, who refashioned the IMF's role to fit the needs of the advanced capitalist countries in a period when they were torn by economic recession and fearful that the less-developed countries would renege on their growing debts to them.

Floating dollars.

The IMF was founded in 1944. The British wanted it to be a lending agency that would promote postwar recovery aid, but the U.S. wanted it primarily to police currency relations among the capitalist nations. The

U.S. preferred to grant aid on its own terms.

Until 1971, when Richard Nixon stopped backing the dollar with gold, the IMF was concerned primarily with maintaining fixed exchange rates, based on the dollar (one oz. of gold = \$35). If a country wanted to raise or lower the value of its currency in relation to the dollar, it had to seek the IMF's approval.

Nixon's move led to fixed exchange rates being replaced by floating rates, regulated by the market and by government intervention. It was predicted that the IMF would soon expire. But the economic recession of the '70s, of which the dollar crisis was only one aspect, provided the IMF with new possibilities.

In the early '70s, the developed capitalist countries, threatened by shrinking profits and rising wages and prices, pulled in their belts. Government cut expenditures; central banks raised interest rates; unemployment went up, threatening the wages and bargaining power of workers; and imports declined as the level of demand sunk.

During this time, the oil-producing countries, united in OPEC and in cooperation with the oil multinationals, drove up the price of oil. The OPEC countries found themselves with huge trade surpluses (\$158 billion from 1974 through 1976), most of which they put in Western banks (about 50 percent in American banks, according to Morgan Guaranty Trust).

What the IMF calls the non-oil less-developed countries (LDCs) found themselves in big trouble. The decline of demand in the developed countries cut into their export earnings, while the rise in the price of oil (and other raw materials) drove up their expenses.

Banks to the rescue.

Into this breach stepped the banks. The banks had a problem of their own, with huge petrodollar accounts gathering interest in their vaults. Unless they could find an outlet for this wealth, they would lose money on it.

They found it in the demand for loans from the lower-rung developed countries and the better-off LDCs like Mexico, Brazil, Peru, and Zaire. These countries needed loans to balance their trade accounts.

Exact figures on the bank loans are not available, but in 1967 the total debt of non-oil LDCs was approximately \$12 billion of which 28 percent was owed to private banks. By 1976, the debt was up to about \$185 billion; 40 percent was owed to banks, more than half to U.S. banks.

But by 1976 the banks were beginning to worry about their investment. Zaire's debts, which were 75 percent of its GNP, had required rescheduling; other countries required new loans to pay their debt interest. At the Manila meeting of the IMF last year, the poorer non-oil LDCs asked for a debt moratorium, a demand that created ulcers among Western bankers.

Enter the IMF.

Johannes Witteveen became the IMF's director in 1973 and set about adjusting the IMF to the new world situation.

Along with the World Bank, the IMF had always extended loans to its member countries. It had also played a role in "disciplining" LDCs by requiring that they undertake austerity programs and abandon socialist experiments in exchange for loans.

Austerity was necessary because the only way a country could correct a trade imbalance, and prevent devaluation of its currency, was by holding down its imports and encouraging private investment in export-production. To do this, it had to discourage domestic demand and cut wages.

But the size of the IMF loans was strictly limited by the amount that the member countries had contributed

to the fund. This meant that most LDCs and needy developed capitalist countries had to look elsewhere for help.

In 1974 Witteveen began creating special loan facilities, financed through special member contributions, to enable the IMF to extend loans. These loans had one important advantage over the private ones: as a condition for them, the IMF could secure government agreement to austerity.

Riots in Egypt.

While the required austerity measures often led to political instability and to stark oppression for workers and peasants, they provided the necessary condition, from the banks' standpoint, for the eventual repayment of their loans. In 1976 the U.S. Treasury published an honors list of countries that had successfully undergone austerity; Kenya, Taiwan, and Chile were at the top of the list.

In 1977, the most vivid example of the IMF's role with indebted LDCs was in Egypt, where requirements that the government cut its subsidies on food (driving down real wages and decreasing demand) precipitated the January riots that nearly toppled Anwar Sadat's regime.

The IMF was even able to exact concessions from Great Britain and, to a lesser extent, from Italy. Common Market members had not dared to ask Italy to abandon its wage escalator system as a condition for received loans. The IMF did.

The U.S. or West Germany could never have gotten the British parliament to approve austerity measures as a condition for its loans, but the IMF, with under-the-table German and American support, was able to.

The Bankers Relief Act.

The newest Witteveen proposal kills two birds with one stone. He has proposed creating a "Witteveen facility" with half of its initial \$10 billion loan capital to come from the OPEC nations themselves. That way the petrodollars would not enter the already bloated banks; but would be used by the IMF to provide conditional loans to LDCs and other countries with which they might pay back their debts to the banks.

The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized that "this indirect approach is necessary in order to fool the taxpayers into thinking they are really helping the poor [when American taxdollars go for the new facility] . . . Imagine the flap if the problem were solved honestly and directly: The Bankers Relief Act of 1977."

But the Carter administration gave the go ahead to Witteveen in January to push for the new loan facility and has also proposed that members' regular contributions to the IMF be increased by 50 percent. Carter and his Treasury secretary W. Michael Blumenthal know a good deal when they see it. Blumenthal has urged private banks to secure joint IMF participation whenever they extend loans to countries.

Last week's IMF meeting was not expected to finalize the Witteveen facility. Several issues remain unsettled. The Saudis want their own executive director, as the major capitalist powers do. They also may join an LDC demand that Witteveen be replaced with a Third World person when he retires next year.

In any case, the results of the meeting will not be widely heard. Except for when visiting dignitaries speak, the IMF meetings are closed to the public. This befits the deliberations of one of the world's invisible governments.

Recommended reading: the new pamphlet by Howard M. Wachtel, *The New Gnomes: Multinational Banks in the Third World*, available from the Transnational Institute, 1901 Q St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

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Imports not the issue in steel

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

"Everybody in this valley is really scared, scared as hell," Ed Mann said.

Mann, president of Steelworkers Local 2462 at the Brier Hill works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, was talking about "Steel Valley"—the Mahoning River Valley—and Youngstown, Ohio, in particular. With sooty grey hulks of steel mills lining the overheated, oily stream that meanders through the center of this grim city, Youngstown has been a mainstay of the iron industry since the late 19th century.

For decades the companies have been threatening to shut down the aging mills and move out. Then on September 19 Youngstown Sheet and Tube—a division of the Lykes conglomerate, which had bought the steel firm to obtain capital for its other operations—announced that it was closing three-fourths of its steelmaking capacity in Youngstown. Within three months 5,000 workers will be jobless.

As many as 16,000 steelworkers have lost jobs in recent weeks due to permanent cutbacks by Bethlehem Steel and Armco in flood-ravaged Johnstown, Pa., Lackawanna, N.Y., and Middletown, Ohio, the bankruptcy of the small Alan Wood company, the Youngstown closings and other layoffs.

The shock of the layoffs will hurt the old steel cities even more as business closings and job reductions ripple through the steel-dependent local economies. Already financially strapped, many of the cities—like tiny Campbell, the suburb where the abandoned Sheet and Tube mill is located—will be deeply hurt by loss of sales and property taxes.

Companies blame imports.

In the wake of the plant closings, the cries of steel corporations against foreign imports and environmental regulations have reached a new shrill pitch.

The industry claims that unfair competition has eaten into the domestic market. They accuse foreign companies of selling here below their cost, with their national governments often subsidizing the loss to protect jobs and their steel industry.

Steel producers also blame pollution controls for lessening productivity and diverting capital from modernization, making it harder to compete.

Despite embarrassing admissions from Youngstown Sheet and Tube and other steelmakers that even they buy foreign steel, the industry is increasing pressure for import restrictions on President Carter, who received a special study of the industry from his Council on Wage and Price Stability at the end of September.

Imports not main problem.

But imports are not the main problem with the industry.

Despite laments about rising imports, there has been only a slight increase in recent years. The current level is well below the peak import years of 1968 and 1971, when around 18 million tons of steel, or 17 to 18 percent of the market, came from abroad. The import share dropped to 12.4 percent in 1972, rising slowly to 14.1 percent last year.

Imports shot up in May and June by 50 percent but quickly dropped back down again and will probably take 14.4 percent of the market this year, according to Charles Bradford, steel analyst for Merrill Lynch, the stockbrokers.

Bradford greatly angered American steelmakers when he concluded in a recent report on the industry that the Japanese were much more efficient than American steel firms. After briefly losing some of their edge when oil prices went up in 1973, the Japanese rebounded and now have a 30 percent (\$83 per ton) price advantage over the American companies, he claims.

The big advantage for the Japanese—



Paul R. Schell, Youngstown Vindicator

The steel industry is in trouble because of its conservatism and insulation from competition.

in efficient use of energy and in lower unit costs—comes from having more large modern mills, although currently the best American steel factories basically match the best Japanese.

Bradford denies that the Japanese are selling in the United States below cost or below their prices at home. Other industry observers add that the Japanese have carved out a large share of particular steel markets here, such as stainless, tool and other specialty steels, because they are more innovative and aggressive in meeting customers' needs.

Conservatism and oligopoly.

The American steel industry is in trouble today in large part because of its conservatism and oligopolistic insulation from competition in the past. During the first decade after World War II, the American steel industry coasted along with old methods and ample profits while Japan and Europe modernized. In the mid-60s, when imports offered some competition, the American companies belatedly began a still unfinished process of converting from the old open hearth

method to the more efficient basic oxygen process.

Bradford thinks the competitive stimulus is still needed. "We do not believe that protectionism is the answer for the industry," he wrote, "because that might inhibit the industry from becoming more efficient."

Accustomed as they are to a cozy, non-competitive pricing arrangement domestically, the steel industry has persisted with pricing policies that draw heavy flak from many quarters.

Although a few companies, such as Armco with its selective "import fighting" discounts, occasionally cut prices to increase sales when times are tough, generally the steel industry reacts to declining markets by raising prices to maintain profits.

During this past year, while the chorus of complaints about imports and weak demand for steel has grown stronger, the price of American-made steel has gone up 12 percent. The fifth increase in eight months came in August. More are expected before the end of the year.

That may seem like an odd way to

beat out lower-priced competitors. Yet Bethlehem and other steel executives even maintain that there's no point in cutting prices, because foreigners will always go lower.

Efficiency is key.

Despite the higher prices, however, companies have had lower profits, or even losses, this year because profits are down from their 1974 peak, in part because the companies are operating at only 79 percent capacity, down from 85 percent last year.

In an industry with so much expensive equipment, efficiency requires keeping production near capacity.

That's the Japanese strategy—cut prices to sell more and maintain high capacity when times are tough.

Since the steel industry throughout the capitalist world is now in a slump, Japanese and European firms are trying to stay afloat by exporting more. Steel executives in this country say that informal restrictions on Japanese exports to Common Market countries made last year have led to diversion of more Japanese steel to the U.S., but their evidence is inconclusive.

Steel's problems are a special case stemming from the weak recovery of the world economy from the last deep recession and a generally faltering pace in basic investment.

A year ago a steel analyst with a large Wall Street brokerage firm was extremely optimistic. Now he's "gloomy." He criticizes environmentalists and gripes that federal "jawboning" and price controls over the years prevented steel from making a killing in good years to make up for the lean periods in the strongly cyclical industry.

But when asked what brought about his abrupt change of forecast, he said, "The one single thing is the lack of a real upturn in capital spending. Not having that has made problems in the industry worse."

Could be profitable.

If the main problems are old and inefficient equipment, non-competitive pricing, low capacity utilization and a sluggish economy, does the industry need import quotas, freedom from even minimal government efforts against inflation, a relaxation of environmental protection and the right to escape anti-trust prosecution as it consolidates, as some observers claim?

Or does it need competition, lower prices, higher capacity utilization, efficiency, modernization and more imaginative management, as others maintain?

Generally the Council on Wage and Price Stability has concluded that without increasing prices the industry could be profitable enough to grow if demand were great enough to keep them near full capacity.

"Attempts to improve profitability by raising prices," the Council concluded in a December 1976 report, "will not only worsen the economic inefficiency of idle capacity and unemployed labor, but may erode the competitive advantage of American steel producers vis a vis foreign producers."

Higher prices won't help workers.

The American steel industry's past behavior suggests that if they get the import restraints they want, they will use it as an excuse to raise prices. It is also unlikely that such price increases will result in any more jobs for American steelworkers.

"Voluntary" quotas were instituted at the end of 1968, one of the two peak import years. In 1969 imports dropped and prices went up, but steel employment did not, according to a study by economist A. F. Shorrocks.

Likewise, in 1974, imports dropped because of price controls in the U.S. and higher fuel costs overseas. When price

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ORGANIZATIONS

Making neighborhoods a priority

The National Association of Neighborhoods exists to influence federal policy.

by Judy MacLean

"We're talking about neighborhood people having control over, and taking responsibility for everything that affects their lives. We want to raise the neighborhood leader to equal dignity and status with all other leaders in society," says Milton Kotler, director of National Association of Neighborhoods (NAN).

A fast growing alliance just over two years old, NAN has around 150 affiliate groups, ranging from neighborhood organizations to city-wide coalitions, mostly on the East Coast and in the Midwest.

"NAN is a vehicle for neighborhood organizations to influence federal policy," says Kotler. "We're into negotiation, not confrontation, on the national level."

The group developed two years ago out of Institute for Neighborhood Studies, part of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. IPS, a kind of radical think-tank, supports a variety of projects around decentralization of power.

Maximum local autonomy

NAN's structure allows for maximum local autonomy among its affiliates. Some groups seek neighborhood control by setting up neighborhood assembly-type governments, others seek to affect policy by forming pressure groups to influence local governments. Still others have set up and run their own institutions.

NAN's lobbying arm, the Alliance for Neighborhood Government, can make rapid decisions in policy areas on legislative matters, subject to approval by a committee appointed by NAN's national board. The only policy decisions that bind the affiliated groups, however, are those adopted in plenary sessions at NAN's twice yearly membership meetings, then circulated and ratified by a majority of the affiliates.

One such binding policy is NAN's Neighborhood Bill of Responsibilities and Rights, which, among other things commits the group to fight "under justice." This clause, says Kotler, is an agreement among NAN's affiliates that neighborhood organizations should not be used by whites for the purpose of keeping minorities out of the neighborhood. "Not all neighborhood organizations are peaches and cream and justice," says Kotler. "We have a credentials committee to keep racist and unjust organizations out of NAN."

Ward assembly

NAN's affiliates work for neighborhood control in many ways. In Chicago the 44th Ward Assembly is an elected body of delegates from neighborhood groups and precincts in the ward. A contract with Alderman Dick Simpson stipulates that a two-thirds vote by the delegates at a monthly meeting binds his vote on city council.

The assembly has also originated legislation. A recent example was a new law requiring locks on rental buildings to meet certain standards. "With 100-200 people at a Ward Assembly meeting, there's an open spirit. People can really discuss something and over a couple of months they threw out a lot of creative ideas about that security ordinance. This is where real work is done, where you can make a real difference in your own neighborhood life," says Marci Buettgen of the Ward Assembly.

Good training ground

Another type of NAN affiliate is the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance. Made



Chicago Alderman Richard Simpson has a contract with the 44th Ward Assembly (shown above) that provides that a two-thirds vote of the Assembly binds his vote on the city council.

up of local groups in every Pittsburgh community, the alliance does locally what NAN does nationally: ensures that the neighborhood groups have a voice in the decisions that affect them.

A major victory was persuading the Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission to submit its long range transportation plan for citizen review. The plan originally called for highways that would effectively destroy sev-

eral low-income Pittsburgh neighborhoods.

"The Assembly is a good training ground for leaders," says Buettgen. "You can start helping with a neighborhood event or you can write legislation."

Neighborhood college

The National Congress of Neighborhood Women, another NAN affiliate, runs a neighborhood college program in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, N.Y.

Set up two years ago in cooperation with LaGuardia Community College, the program will grant its first class Associate of Arts degrees this fall.

The students are women, mostly neighborhood leaders from ages 20-58. They helped choose faculty and curriculum. "The college has been a reward for those of us who are active in the neighborhood and couldn't go back to school

Continued on page 18

JOBS

Federal unemployment benefits cut

By Paul Rosenstiel
Pacific News Service

James King, 41, of San Francisco used to be a maintenance man, bringing home almost \$4 an hour. He was laid off last September and has been looking for work ever since. He'd like another job in maintenance that pays as well as his old job, but now he's faced with accepting any job paying at least the minimum wage or losing his unemployment benefits.

King and hundreds of other jobless Americans are being forced to take a step down the economic ladder under new eligibility requirements for Federal Supplemental Employment Benefits (FSB), the program that extends state-financed benefits to cover a year or more.

Behind the new regulations is the belief of many Washington economists that the unemployment system was not designed for the long-term unemployed like King.

For people out of work for nine months or a year, "the likelihood of their returning to their previous employment is not great," explains Pierce Quinlan, whose Office of Comprehensive Employment Development runs many of the federal public service job programs.

"The rationale underlying the whole concept is that it's better to have people employed than unemployed," says Roger Rossi, research chief for the Unemployment Insurance Service in Washington. And, the argument continues, unemployment payments perpetuate unemployment by subsidizing people to look for jobs that don't exist.

The traditional role of unemployment

insurance has been to enable workers to survive while looking for jobs like the ones they held before. The new attitude in Washington, however, will force many people to take a step down on the job ladder after 39 weeks instead of continuing to try for work at the same socioeconomic level.

In practice, this means lower pay for FSB recipients—mainly the young, the old, non-whites and unskilled workers—who have the most trouble finding work and are the first laid off in a recession.

Prominent economists are frank in their recommendation of lowered expectations and more hard work as a solution to the 14.5 percent black unemployment rate.

"The heightened sense of national obligation [in the '60s] to provide jobs—or at least a paycheck—had as its corollary a lowered sense of private responsibility to work. These sentiments are not confined to blacks, but they have been especially harmful to blacks..." says Prof. Herbert Stein, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Many recipients believe the new regulations unfairly force them to give up any chance at a decent job. James King says he's willing to work for \$3.00 or \$3.50 an hour, but "If it comes down around \$2.50 or \$2.00, I'll feel bad."

Since they must continually be looking for work, recipients can't go to school to be trained for another good job.

"It's a legal trap," complains a 28-year-old San Francisco father of two, who has been out of work for 10 months. He made \$5.69 an hour as a factory machine operator, but the new policy will soon require him to settle for

a drastic cut in pay.

The maximum number of weeks of benefits a person can collect has already been reduced from 65 to 52. This May 1 reduction immediately cut about 100,000 people off unemployment compensation.

In addition, as employment rises above a certain level in each state, supplemental benefits from the federal government are no longer given.

The whole supplemental benefits program will expire in February unless Congress renews it, which is not expected to happen.

"Almost everyone knowledgeable in the area agrees that 65 weeks of benefits in terms of an insurance program financed by employer contributions is too long," says Rossi.

The belief that any work, even low-paying menial work, is preferable to government-supported job hunting is also consistent with the Carter administration's welfare program, which emphasizes temporary public service jobs. Such jobs could take the place of long-term unemployment compensation programs.

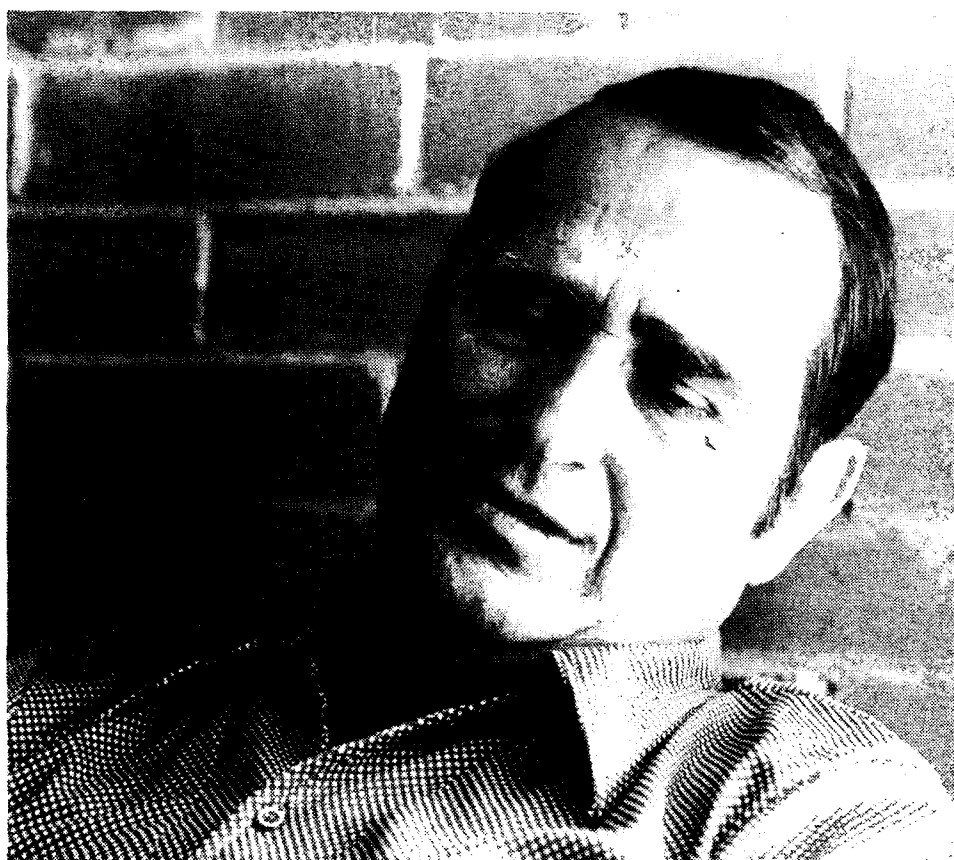
But they may turn out to be no better solution to the problem of hard-core unemployment among unskilled workers than insurance has been. When the government jobs end workers will be in the same predicament without additional training: no job, no new skills and no demand for the skills they have.

Paul Rosenstiel is a member of the Urban Task Force of the University of California-Berkeley's Third Century America Project.

CORPORATIONS

Phone company graft and greed on trial in Texas

Photos by Ave Bonar



Former Southwestern Bell General Commercial Manager James Ashley charges that the phone company engaged in fraudulent rate-fixing, political payoffs, crooked bookkeeping and lavish living at public expense.

Three years ago in mid-October 1974 T.O. Gravitt, the highest ranking Bell executive in the state of Texas, was found dead at his Dallas home, an apparent suicide.

Several weeks later Gravitt's son Michael disclosed that his father had left behind an eight page note in which he implicated his former employer in a variety of crimes, including his own death. It was a stunning indictment, charging Bell with fraudulent rate-fixing, political payoffs, crooked bookkeeping, and lavish living at public expense. "Water-gate," wrote Gravitt, "is a gnat compared to the Bell System."

Bell officials dismissed the letter as the product of a severely troubled imagination; not to be taken seriously. At that point, however, former General Commercial Manager for San Antonio, James H. Ashley, stepped forward to vouch for the document.

Ashley claimed that both he and Gravitt had become fed up with the numerous illegitimate practices they were obliged to follow, and were attempting to change corporate policy when they were "hounded out of the company."

"It cost me my job," Ashley said of their efforts, "and him his life."

The case has produced a flurry of legal action, each side charging the other with gross misconduct. In the most recent incident a San Antonio jury ordered Gravitt's estate to pay Southwestern Bell \$1,771 for fraudulent expense vouchers Gravitt had filed while a Bell employee. The jury then turned around and ordered Bell to pay Ashley and Gravitt's family a total of \$3 million in damages. Phone company lawyers have already appealed. An earlier million-dollar judgment against Bell for wiretapping Ashley's phone is also on appeal.

Everyone paid more.

The one undisputable fact to emerge from the month long trial was that for many years Texas telephone users have been paying for a great deal more than the use of their telephones. More, in fact, than almost anyone else in the nation.

According to Ashley, for years Texas telephone exchanges led the nation, dollar for dollar, in rate of return on investment. This was possible because Texas was the only state in the nation without some sort of public utility commission, allowing Bell to negotiate telephone rates with each area and municipality separately.

Obviously pleased with this mismatched situation, Southwestern Bell (and parent company American Telephone and Telegraph) instructed its Texas organization to discourage any attempt to create a state rate making body by whatever means necessary.

In a deposition presented early in the trial Southwestern Bell's chief Texas lobbyist, Ward Wilkerson, testified that he regularly collected between \$1200 and \$1250 a month from Bell executives and distributed it to various political candidates. Ashley contended that these "private" donations were in fact mandatory, and that all Bell executives fifth level and above (there are ten levels at Bell) were given \$1000 a year raises to help compensate them for their contributions.

Austin division manager Bill Holman told the jury of ten men and two women of a \$12,000 contribution made to a Corpus Christi publisher's favorite charity "to get the newspaper off my back in connection with a rate case."

Holman also said that neither Gravitt nor Ashley liked the way rates were figured, and they wanted to change things. Further examples of mismanagement included expensive hunting junkets charged to the company (and thus to the consumer), and contracts awarded to city councilmen in San Antonio and Austin while rate hearings were in progress.

Victims of a smear campaign.

Ashley maintains that as a result of their concern over these practices, he and Gravitt became the victims of a smear campaign designed "to slap our wrists

and say 'Boys, don't you ever do that again.'" Under the direction of Southwestern Bell's St. Louis headquarters and AT&T offices in New York, Bell's internal investigators began to make inquiries about the two executives, scrutinizing their business dealings, their company relations and their private lives.

It was this heavy handed investigation, Ashley claims, that ultimately drove Gravitt to take his own life.

"They were putting a lot of pressure on," Ashley said in an interview before the trial. "I mean, kids were coming over and saying to my kids, 'How come your daddy stole five million dollars?' They didn't think that sort of thing would really effect someone, but it's what killed Gravitt. They killed him by invasion of privacy. Gravitt was a real fair-minded man, and he just couldn't stand what they were doing to him. Asking his secretaries if they slept with him and all."

For his part, Ashley was suspended from his job on October 9, 1974. One week later, at Gravitt's funeral, Ashley says he was offered what amounted to half a million dollars for his silence, but

decided to file suit instead. He was fired on October 31.

Sex investigation.

Bell's explanation of these events is equally intriguing, and in its own way just as revealing. Ashley was indeed the focus of an internal investigation, Bell attorneys admitted, but for a lack of scruples, not an overabundance of them.

According to Louis C. Bailey, Ashley's former supervisor, now Bell Vice President in charge of finance, the investigation began in response to persistent rumours of "sexual irregularities" within the company. Bailey reported that Ashley had been accused of arranging parties for younger employees, participating in sexual relations with female employees on company time, using sex as a requirement for promotion and transfer, and sponsoring a three-day orgy in a San Antonio hotel, in addition to mishandling company funds.

The investigation, Bailey said, was to get to the bottom of the charges. Several women then testified that they had had sexual relations with Ashley, and another Bell employee claimed that Ash-

ley used to show pornographic movies in his office.

While claiming that Ashley, not Gravitt, was the prime target of the investigation, Bell's lawyers reported that further sleuthing revealed the late vice-president himself stole at least \$28,000 by padding expenses and falsifying travel vouchers. They also charged Ashley with embezzling some \$18,000, including \$370.00 worth of "electronic equipment" in the form of a cassette recorder and a portable television.

It's worth noting that throughout their defense Bell lawyers made only passing attempts at refuting the bulk of Ashley's charges. The issue, according to Bell, was not that the telephone company routinely imposed exorbitant rates upon its Texas customers, but whether or not Ashley and Gravitt objected to it.

Further, in order to prove its counterclaim of voucher fraud, Bell witnesses testified to thousands of dollars of improper accounting by other executives as well.

Into a rate request.

Immediately after the jury returned with their verdict, Bell announced plans to appeal. Expressing little satisfaction with the \$1,771 award from Gravitt's estate for falsely claimed expenses, Bell San Antonio head C.L. Todd called the \$3 million dollar judgement against his company "a miscarriage of justice."

More to the point, Southwestern Bell president Zane Barnes indicated that, even if the verdict is upheld, Bell does not intend to pay. The day after the trial, Barnes announced to the press via a spokesman in Dallas that "any expense resulting from the lawsuit is considered a legitimate cost of doing business," and would be included in a future rate request.

In other words, the total cost of Bell's "slandorous investigation"—one million dollars each to Ashley and Gravitt's widow Mrs. Oleta Gravitt Dixon, \$500,000 each in exemplary damages—would be borne not by the phone company, its officials, or its stockholders, but by the telephone users of Texas, including James Ashley, Mrs. Dixon, and every member of the jury.

Although representatives of the newly formed Texas Public Utilities Commission argue that there is little chance trial expenses will ever count towards raising telephone rates, Bell's monolithic power constitutes a serious challenge to the legal system. American civil law, telephone company critics say, was not designed to offer recourse against corporate "persons" with assets of over \$86 billion and a straight shot at the pocket-book of every talkative person in the U.S.

33 months of delay.

The very fact that it has taken 33 months for this case to come to trial testifies to the resources of this corporate giant. Since Ashley filed his original lawsuit on November 15, 1974, the case has been appealed to a federal court, remanded to district court, appealed again to the Fifth Circuit court and finally argued before the U.S. Supreme Court before settling back into the 166th District Court, where it was eventually decided. A conservative estimate of lawyer's fees involved in those proceedings exceeds \$300,000.

In addition, the same overpowering tactics that have been successfully applied to ratemaking sessions in Texas for the last 20 years, are now being used on the infant Texas Public Utilities Commission. The very first day of the PUC's life, Bell shouldered to the head of the line and presented 55 boxes of data supporting a record-breaking \$272 million rate increase request. PUC staffers were predictably swamped.

"You've got to feel helpless when confronted with the tremendous bigness of the company," Ashley affirmed. "The political clout of Bell is inconceivable, with the most unlimited financial resources in the world. Right now Bell holds a loaded pistol to the head of every citizen and the only thing preventing them from pulling the trigger is their own integrity."

Enrique Pasa writes for the Austin Sun.

The ^{NEW! IMPROVED!} FBI

New director of FBI faces problems of discipline and function

By Robert L. Borosage

The appointment of Judge Frank Johnson to direct the Federal Bureau of Investigation has received an acclaim more appropriate to the coming of a mythical hero than a federal justice. Perhaps this is understandable, for Johnson, a hero to many for his civil rights decisions over the past two decades, has taken up a truly Herculean task. Hercules was sent to clean out the Augean stables; Judge Johnson will find that cleaning out the FBI may take far longer, involve many more perils, and encounter much more bull than anything Hercules experienced.

Those who believe that the Johnson appointment signals the end of FBI abuses in our time should look at the challenge which faces him.

The Augean Task.

The FBI has over 20,000 employees, of whom some 8,500 are special agents, the pride and core of the Bureau. Most of these had little involvement in the FBI's programs of illegal spying and disruption, but hundreds remain on duty who were directly implicated. Judge Johnson must decide what to do with those involved in the crimes of the recent past.

To gain control of the Bureau, Johnson must remove J. Edgar Hoover's minions and cohorts. Current FBI Director Clarence Kelley feared that widespread dismissals or indictments would "erode the morale" of the FBI, and depended on the Hoover lieutenants to help him control the Bureau.

As a result Kelley found himself sinking deeper and deeper into the muck. He announced that all illegal burglaries had ended in 1966, only to confess later that the black bag jobs had continued even under his regime. Kelley's statement was a poignant admission: "I know that I was lied to . . . I wish I could say categorically, unquestionably, that this is not going on . . . I can no longer make categorical sweeping statements."

The few efforts of reform that Kelley attempted were equally frustrated. For months he was chastized for relying on Hoover's old cronies to run the Bureau. When he finally dismissed Nicholas Calahan, a key Hoover loyalist, for financial impropriety, Kelley selected Richard Held to replace him, lauding him as an unblemished new face. But Held too was stained by the past; it was soon revealed that he had directed COINTELPRO operations against citizens involved in antiwar activities in Minnesota.

Johnson will have to clean out the Bureau. He will be aided by a new retirement provision that may rid him of some 400 Cold War veterans in the next year.

But already FBI officials and supporters are in arms against the indictment of special agent John Kearney for illegal break-ins. Their pressure has encouraged Carter's pusillanimous Justice department to back off an investigation said to encompass some 30 agents.

If Johnson comes armed with a large broom, the fear and loathing will exceed anything witnessed thusfar. Remember, when James Schlesinger fired some 1,000 CIA agents in 1973, it is said that he was forced to hire bodyguards in the



Current FBI Director Kelley (above) has been unable to control the bureau, as witnessed by his admission that he had been lied to by subordinates and that he couldn't say it wouldn't happen again.

face of the threats on his life.

The Gandy Dancers.

In the Hoover FBI many agents won the favor of Helen Gandy, the crusty director's personal secretary, and rose rapidly in the ranks. These became known as the "Gandy Dancers" (a sad misjustice to the laborers who built the railroads). The "Gandy Dancers" illustrate the second problem Judge Johnson will face.

Despite its reputation as a professional investigative force, the Bureau is staffed by agents largely incompetent to crack sophisticated corporate and white collar crime. As U.S. Attorney Donald Trager found, the Bureau's special agents are "geared up for gang-busters crimes," and unable to cope with the Brooks Brothers professionals.

J. Edgar Hoover concentrated the Bureau's resources on the dramatic crimes—bank robbery, kidnapping, extortion—that were easy to investigate and provided banner headlines if solved. At budget time Hoover sprouted convictions and arrest totals as proof of their competence. The best enforced federal statute was the easiest to solve: the Dyer Act, which prohibits interstate transportation of stolen cars.

Kelley has tried to alter the Bureau's priorities, issuing directives to concentrate on organized crime and crime in the suites. But the 1976 FBI *Annual Report* illustrates the limits of the change. The introduction claims a "shift in emphasis from sheer numbers of cases to cases having impact;" the second page features a graph showing that the number of convictions in FBI cases has reached a new high, and the convictions come primarily from bank robberies and burglaries (2,866), interstate transportation of stolen vehicles (1,684), and interstate transportation of stolen property (1,744).

To alter priorities Johnson will have to recruit new agents trained in accounting and skilled in detecting financial chicanery. He will need to retread the current sleuths, forcing them out of the routine of tracking down 18 year old hot-rod thieves. To do so, he must struggle with the "Gandy Dancers," the Hoover sycophants and acolytes who believe that publicity is what counts at budget time and that organized and white collar crime are simply part of the American grain.

Policing the Police.

Inevitably, Johnson's greatest challenge will come in the future, no matter how he fares with the legacy of the past or the incompetence of the present. Historically, the FBI has served as America's political police, and Judge Johnson will find that this function will not easily be avoided.

At present the Bureau's political spying has been limited. Kelley claims that "only" 300-odd "domestic security" investigations are continuing. Although the total is the result of a counting shell game, it is clear that the FBI has reduced its political surveillance and disruption.

But a political police is most active in times of political turmoil. When the anti-war movement and the civil rights movements declined, a reduction in spying was inevitable. Those groups still active—the American Indian Movement, La Raza Unida, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party—are spied upon, harassed, and disrupted by grand jury sweeps to this day.

Many hope that Johnson will get the Bureau out of politics. To do so, the Judge will need to enlist the support of the Congress and the Justice department. He must propose and lobby for legislation outlawing political spying and limiting the FBI to criminal investi-

gations. He will need to press the Justice department to prosecute any violations of those limits. He must retrain the Bureau's agents, and alter their conception of their own task and authority.

Yet even if Johnson were to do these things, he would probably fail to keep the FBI out of political spying for long. Over the years it has been liberal administrations that have unleashed the FBI. Roosevelt gave the Bureau its secret "charter" to investigate "subversives," overcoming the reluctance of J. Edgar Hoover.

Kennedy Justice department officials signed off on the wiretapping of Martin Luther King, and turned their faces when it was clear that Hoover was engaged in a vicious vendetta against the civil rights leader. It was Ramsey Clark, surely the best of such men, who issued the directive that led to the Bureau's ghetto informant program, which culminated years later in the hunting of the leaders of the Black Panther Party.

New pressures and excuses for FBI political policing will accompany the next wave of political upheaval in this country. For example, only a few months ago, Bureau officials announced that the FBI would investigate violence surrounding wildcat strikes in Pennsylvania.

In the end, the purpose, the *raison d'être*, the very character, the Aristotelian virtue of the FBI is to police politics. Judge Johnson will need Herculean will to clean out the FBI. But if he truly seeks to keep it out of political spying, he will more closely resemble Horatio, standing alone on the bridge against the barbarians. Honorable work, but the tenure is short.

Robert Borosage is Director of the Center for National Security Studies in Washington, D.C.

Frank Johnson, new FBI director, has a record for toughness

Judge Johnson has changed practically every aspect of life in Alabama

By Linda Parham
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA—A federal judge, fierce in his protection of the Constitution and "tough as hell" in running his court, can be a mighty force for social change. Judge Frank M. Johnson is just that kind of judge. In his 22 turbulent years on the federal bench here he has changed almost every aspect of Alabama life.

But can even such a rigidly self-disciplined, hardworking and eminently fair man as Johnson make ripples in the entrenched layers of bureaucracy at the Federal Bureau of Investigation? As President Carter's nominee to head the giant intelligence agency, Johnson will shortly have the chance to find out.

Johnson's controversial decisions on integration, mental hospitals and state prisons overshadow two other trademarks that bear examination. If one were to predict how Johnson will run the FBI, it would be wise to look at the judge's record in administering the U.S. Middle District Court of Alabama as

senior presiding judge, and at his history of handing down stern sentences to those convicted of criminal offenses.

Tremendous caseload and control.

His efficient administration of the court and ability to attract a high caliber of law clerks and court employees has given the Middle District an enviable record of disposing of cases. The judge oversees a court in which 1,000 new cases are expected to be filed by the end of this year.

In addition to managing this caseload the judge is involved in even the most minute details of the daily workings of Alabama's mental hospitals and prisons, not to mention the hiring practices of almost every state agency.

The term "law and order" judge has been awarded Johnson by almost all of Alabama's lawyers, including Wallace aides as well as the state Attorney General. His attitude of unrelenting reverence for the law, coupled with his known dedication to the rights of individuals, leaves the impression that Johnson, if he can exert any control at all, will permit little room at the FBI for illegal activities such as unlawful wiretapping or surveillance.

A stare that can freeze.

The measure of control that Johnson exerts over his own courtroom is legendary. The prospect of standing before Johnson, as the judge peers over his half glasses from the high bench, has frozen the blood of many local attorneys, even those accustomed to practicing before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Although the judge rarely raises his voice, he tolerates no lateness, no talking, no sloppy dress. He has even less patience with lawyers who offer shoddy arguments as a coverup for ill-prepared cases.

"I may have been the only lawyer in history who was threatened with con-

tempt because of the expression on his face," remembers John C. Godbold, now a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit.

But in the same breath that Montgomery lawyers talk about a Johnson stare that "can freeze your blood," they also mention his evenhandedness and fairness.

Youngest judge.

The "scallawagging carpetbagger," as Wallace referred to him, is a native Alabamian, born in a hilly North Alabama county that refused to join the rest of the state in seceding from the Union during the Civil War.

After stints in the military during World War II and as a U.S. Attorney in Birmingham, he was appointed in 1954, at the age of 35, as the nation's youngest federal judge by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, a fellow Republican.

Within a matter of weeks Johnson was embroiled in the Montgomery bus boycott led by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. His order integrating the city's buses—as a member of the three-judge panel—served as a warning of decisions to come.

Orders in civil rights cases during the '50s and '60s brought integration to Alabama's schools, juries, transportation, parks and libraries. Later he enraged state officials by establishing minimum living standards for mental hospital patients and prison inmates.

Aloof from criticism.

For the most part Johnson has remained aloof from the criticism that has swirled around his actions. Speeches in recent months, however, have begun to stress Johnson's concept of his role and duty as a federal judge.

A judge's sole responsibility is to "ascertain what the law is and make application of that law to the facts presented

in any particular case," he said. "That is as far as his authority goes, and it should be as far as his concern goes."

He touched more lightly on charges of overstepping his authority during the press conference that followed announcement of his nomination.

"I don't mean to seem trite, but any criticism toward me as far as my judicial opinions having gone too far or having been too aggressive, I must point out, have come from the ones who lost the case. Those who won the cases think I'm a good, sound, conscientious judge. I'll stand with those."

Self-discipline.

The self-discipline that sends Johnson to work before 8 a.m. and keeps him at the office after dark is relieved only by such diversions as working in the yard, raising Great Danes and building grandfather clocks. One of those clocks stands guard in his outer office on the second floor of Montgomery's federal courthouse.

A reserved man who opens up to only a handful of Montgomery acquaintances and family, Johnson was known to have been deeply affected by the suicide of his 27-year-old son a few years ago. Some speculate that restlessness springing from that period of depression along with a sense of concluding his work in Montgomery, spurred his decision to reconsider and accept Carter's offer of the FBI directorship.

Johnson has frequently been mentioned as a possible candidate for the U.S. Supreme Court. He was considered a leading contender to fill vacancies on the court in 1969 and 1971, but was bypassed by President Nixon in favor of G. Harrold Carswell and Clement Haynsworth, both of whom failed to receive Senate confirmation.

Linda Parham is a freelance writer in Montgomery.

Meanwhile, back at the CIA

The CIA tries to clean up its image

By Karen Wynn
A slightly stammering retired CIA biochemist unveiled an extensive CIA biochemical and behavioral modification program before a Senate subcommittee on September 21.

Dr. Sidney Gottlieb described his role in the CIA program, carried out through most of the Agency's 30 year history, to Sen. Edward Kennedy's (D-Mass.) Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research, which is considering legislation to protect the rights of human subjects of intelligence agencies' medical research.

The program, which featured knock-out compounds, untraceable poisons, hypnosis, LSD and other psychotropic drugs, was developed at more than 80 institutions, ranging from prestigious universities to CIA front funding organizations.

There were three distinct stages to the research: first, what might be called the dark side of mainstream medical research. When medical investigators began looking into the possible chemical origins of schizophrenia, for instance, the CIA was interested in whether chemicals isolated by experimenters could be used to induce schizophrenia.

Second, was the fear that the "other side" could also isolate these materials and use them against American officials. To protect these officials, Dr. Gottlieb

said, the CIA had to recognize symptoms of biochemical or behavioral interference.

The predictable third stage was operational or offensive use of the materials by the CIA itself. By 1966 the CIA's deputy chief of station in Greece was suggesting the use of LSD to discredit left leader Andreas Papandreu on some public occasion.

The test subjects of the projects were some 20 to 50 Americans. Most were unwitting; some were confined to prisons or mental hospitals. Drug addicts at a federal facility in Lexington, Kentucky, for instance, were paid in morphine for participating in LSD tests. At least one death is attributed to the testing: the suicide of an unwitting Army employee after LSD was slipped into his drink.

Gottlieb also confirmed that there were operations abroad using the materials, but was not questioned further on the point.

Gottlieb was chief of the CIA's Technical Services Division (TSD) from 1966 to his retirement in 1973. In an earlier capacity he set up the biochemical and behavioral modification, which as TSD chief he later oversaw.

When he retired in 1973 Gottlieb destroyed the records of the drug experiments with, he says, the approval of Richard Helms, then CIA director. Colleagues of Gottlieb confirm that it would have been unlikely for him to have destroyed records without higher approval.

Helms, however, said in 1975 testimony that he had "no recollection" of

records being destroyed.

The remaining records are financial records, written in language both vague and inflated and apparently intended to justify a costly program to auditors. A \$375,000 payment to the Georgetown University hospital building fund was carried on the records as an "in-hospital safe house," although the CIA's Georgetown contact, Dr. Charles Geschickter, said that no space was ever allotted to the CIA there and that it was "all news to him." (Dr. Geschickter's foundation, the Geschickter Fund for Medical Research, funneled \$2.2 million dollars to CIA contract institutions for the research project over a 13 year span.)

The eagerness with which Admiral Stansfield Turner, current director of the CIA, is now producing boxes of old CIA files for press and Senate consumption suggests that the CIA may not be entirely unhappy about the proceedings. The almost unprecedented way in which Gottlieb has been thrown out into the cold along with the remaining records of the program he supervised (which was reviewed annually by higher authority, presumably by Director Helms himself), some observers have pointed out, permits the CIA to take a stance in which the entire episode can be written off as a product of "the bad old days."

This is an extremely functional game plan for the CIA. There are attacks from the left, that the CIA is too efficient, from the right that it is not efficient enough, and most damaging perhaps, there is ridicule from the center. The

Washington Post entitled one of its stories on an LSD testing failure, "The Gang that Couldn't Spray Straight."

The CIA badly needs a more modern image and it knows it. The Gottlieb case shows that it is not above scapegoating individuals for its institutional failures.

Chances are that the CIA will succeed if the current hearings are an indication. When Turner announced that the \$375,000 payment to Georgetown University was "incredible"—because the CIA didn't get anything for it, Sen. Kennedy, who left the hearing shortly after to have lunch with the President, agreed.

Whether the intelligence agencies should be doing medical research at all is a question that has been unasked in the rush toward reforms that would only protect the human subjects. Even here little progress is expected.

Protocols recently drawn up by the intelligence community have already been found acceptable by the federal agency responsible for the protection of human subjects in medical research in spite of the fact that they worsen the current situation. The proposed protocols contain a "national security" override for current standards of informed consent and the need to demonstrate probable benefit to the human subject, an override that is likely to be used, as national security claims have been used in the past. The current legal and ethical constraints on the medical community are better protection.

Karen Wynn has watched the CIA since 1961.

IN THE WORLD

WEST GERMANY

Nazi past looms over terrorists and their victims

By Diana Johnstone

WITH THE WORKING CLASS DEPOLITICIZED, THE deepest conflict is the moral one between an economic ruling class with none of the liberal attitudes of other Western bourgeoisies and an intelligentsia alone with its memories of that classes Nazi past.

The fatal flaw in present day German political culture is the failure to accept conflict and disorder as healthy and necessary factors of human existence. Only the widespread delusion that a perfectly orderly society without conflicts is both desirable and attainable can explain how several hundred desperados calling themselves the Red Army Faction have been able to spread consternation throughout West Germany and have enabled the right to mount a vehement attack against the far-from-permissive government of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt for its "weakness."

Prior to their latest exploit, RAF commandos, in five years of sporadic activity, had killed a total of seven people, making them a threat to the population statistically about on a par with being struck by lightning. Then on Sept. 5 in Cologne, an RAF group kidnapped the heavily guarded president of the West German industrialists association, Hans Martin Schleyer, killing two policemen, a bodyguard and a chauffeur. This tended to show that a small, determined group could attack just about anyone. But not everyone. That this could make much of the population fear for its safety is no sign of great realism.

Except in colonial situations or flagrant tyrannies, terrorism practiced in the name of the left is usually counterproductive. In West Germany, it has proved much more damaging than elsewhere—for some of the same reasons that gave rise to that particular terrorism in the first place.

Nazi heritage.

The Nazi heritage makes West Germany a special case. For various reasons, including characteristic American confidence that democratic political institutions suffice to create a democracy, post-war "de-Nazification" was far from complete.

This is illustrated by the fact that Hans Martin Schleyer, in his youth an ardent Nazi, was picked by the country's business community as its top representative.

The son of an Offenburg judge, Schleyer joined the Hitler Youth when he was 16, in 1931. As soon as possible he joined the SS. For several years he specialized in purging universities of non-Nazis—in Heidelberg, Innsbruck and German-occupied Czechoslovakia. At his own request, he was transferred to the more lucrative job of "mobilizing" the Czechoslovak economy, which

involved ripping off businesses belonging to Jews, Czechs or non-German foreigners.

When the war ended, Schleyer's career was interrupted for three years of automatic prison, before continuing upward through Daimler-Benz to the boards of various major West German corporations, where he was appreciated by his colleagues for his tough attitude towards labor unions and his hostility to the co-management program promoted by the Social Democrats.

To that minority of West German intellectuals sensitive to the crimes of the Nazi past, even guilt-ridden about them, social injustice is not merely the usual inequality between rich and poor; it is also the scandal that the rich are largely the same as those who built and supported Nazism. With the working class largely passive and depoliticized, the deepest and most passionate conflict is perhaps the moral one between an economic ruling class with none of the liberal attitudes of bourgeoisies in other Western countries and an intelligentsia that is alone with its historic memories and present understanding of that class.

The self-appointed "head."

Recently, self-exiled Munster sociologist Christian Sigrist told a meeting in Milan that Andreas Baader and the other bourgeois intellectuals of the "armed party" blamed the passivity of German workers today on the fact that when they revolted in the past, they were betrayed by intellectuals, who let them be slaughtered. Therefore the RAF concluded, according to Sigrist, that the workers could be encouraged to struggle only by intellectuals who showed themselves ready to take risk in action. The RAF has tried to stress to the public that it strikes only at the top, but this has been censored.

This line of reasoning is an extreme development of the conviction, which Lenin took from the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, that non-working class intellectuals must provide the working class with its consciousness. The RAF is the self-appointed "head" trying to be part of the "body."

Many of the country's socially concerned intellectuals have understood more or less why Baader, Meinhof and the others embarked on that course. The RAF has been a guilt-trip for intellectuals characteristically blaming themselves for never doing anything but talk. But the mere attempt to explain, however critically, the political reasoning of the RAF has invited accusations of sym-



Hans Martin Schleyer, president of the West German industrialists association, was kidnapped on September 5 in Cologne.

pathizing with terrorism.

The anti-intellectual right, with the Axel Springer press in the forefront, by portraying the "Baader band" as blood-thirsty monsters out to destroy the best of all possible worlds out of sheer wicked perversity, has virtually goaded certain intellectual circles into sympathizing with them to some extent. That sympathy has then been used to promote witch-hunts and repression in intellectual circles, labeled "breeding grounds for terrorism."

Tanks and barbed wire.

Relentless repression of the RAF seems to have inspired a matching relentlessness. Locked in unequal combat, the state and its enemy resemble each other strangely in organizational capacity and ruthlessness. The attention lavished on the Baader band, even to having a maximum security courthouse built just for their trial, was not designed to persuade them of their insignificance. The American press has tended to go along with the official German over-reaction, assuming the danger must be equal to the defensive measures, including tanks and barbed wire, mobilized against it.

The tanks are part of the governing Social Democrats' desperate efforts to stave off right-wing criticism. But precisely by such grandiose measures, better suited to exaggerating than to solving the problem, the government makes itself look helpless and the terrorists look strong.

It is all very German. The German way of life involves an extraordinary suppression of visible disorder, resulting in an extremely neat, conformist sur-

face and a generalized suspicion that strange demons may be lurking everywhere, just out of sight.

In a speech in Berlin on Sept. 9, Axel Springer announced ominously that "once again, as in 1933, the German State appears too powerless to defend itself." The next day, his newspaper *Welt am Sonntag* published a poll according to which 78 percent thought the government had taken the threat of terrorism "too lightly."

Christian Democratic crusade.

Schmidt has fought to get opposition Christian Democratic Union (CDU) leaders to share responsibility for decisions in the Schleyer case, while they have done their best to wriggle out, so as to be able, after momentarily proclaiming solidarity, to attack his government for failure to keep order.

In a CDU meeting in Lower Saxony on Sept. 11, party theoretician Kurt Biedenkopf said: "Not only the terrorists are guilty. Those responsible for the situation we are in are the so-called liberals and left-wing intellectuals, whose only thought is to create insecurity in the population and destroy the freedom-loving instincts in our society." When Willy Brandt's name was linked with the terrorists, CDU delegates applauded vociferously.

Ernst Albrecht, prime minister of Lower Saxony, charged: "The real problem is not the terrorists but rather their sympathizers," whom he identified as writer Heinrich Böll, North German radio, university teachers and the Young Socialists. The Christian Democrats pre-

Continued on page 18.

THE FRENCH LEFT

Communists pressuring Socialists

THE FRENCH LEFT, WHICH HAD EXPECTED to win in next March's elections, may be in trouble. On September 15, a summit meeting among the Communists, Socialists, and left Radicals broke up when the Socialists and Left Radicals refused to agree with Communist demands for revising the left's Common Program. The Communists were reported to have wanted to raise the number of nationalized companies from 227 to 729, and also to have sought veto power over the future government's policies.

Bernard Moss, author of the recently published *Origins of the French Labor Movement* and of series on the French left for *In These Times* (Jan. 26-Feb. 16) explores, in a new four part series, the rift between the two parties. Moss recently returned from a year in France.

By Bernard H. Moss

In all good marriages, say the counselors, the frank and open discussion of differences can only strengthen the alliance. This summer, following the brief honeymoon of the municipal elections, French Communists and Socialists were again accusing each other of disloyalty to the Common Program, which after five years was being updated to suit new conditions.

Conservative enemies, who have had little to cheer about this year, suddenly took heart and predicted that the couple would separate before giving birth to a new government next March. Personal friends of the couple, who have always deplored their lack of affection, were again disheartened. But the public at large—at least 53 percent of them—more philosophical for having witnessed previous quarrels, continued to endow the left with its confidence, trusting perhaps in a mutual compromise to strengthen the alliance.

Competition and conflict has been an integral part of left unity since 1972. Within the framework of a conflictual alliance, the Communists have been the party of movement, Marxist rigor, and working class struggle; the Socialists, despite leftist rhetoric, the party of moderation, theoretical flexibility and the broad class front. While the Communists have mobilized the industrial working class, the Socialists have reached out to those middle class and middle-of-the-road groups, who, whatever their dissatisfaction with the regime, could never bring themselves to vote Communist.

Moderates are willing to vote left because they feel secure that the Socialists will check any Communist tendency toward absolutism. Communists can support Francois Mitterand because they believe their pressure will save him from class collaboration. Only within the framework of such an alliance, devoid of true fraternity, can the left advance towards democratic socialism.

End of illusions.

Originally, the new Socialist Party had dreamed of becoming something else, a truly democratic party of the working class that would either replace or merge with the Communists. Drawing upon the new left energies of May-June 1968, it adopted the slogans of "autogestion," self-management and participatory democracy and welcomed recruits from the new left Unified Socialist Party (PSU) and the French Democratic Workers' Federation (CFDT).

Spurred on by the young intellectuals of the CERES, it announced it was more radical than the Communists. While the Communists talked of the union of the French people and the new democracy, it was building a class front that would break with capitalist organization and division of labor and proceed directly to a society of autogestion. It was challenging the Communists at the workplace in order to build an autonomous mass movement outside their control. As

SPECIAL REPORT

Disunited Union of the Left may wage separate campaigns

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS, SEPT. 28—The leaders of the French Socialist and Communist parties today sent their militants into battle for the union of the left—firmly disunited.

Mobilizing their members to pass the buck for last week's breakdown of negotiations to update the 1972 Common Program between the Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals, PSF leader Francois Mitterand and PCF leader Georges Marchais each proclaimed determination to defend unity, all alone if necessary.

At a press conference at the National Assembly, Mitterand called his party a "resolute and enthusiastic" champion of unity determined to maintain its partnership with the Communists against the right, implying that the absence of agreement on a Common Program could not change this course. At a mass rally on the north side of Paris, Marchais promised a cheering, overflow crowd that the Communist Party would never abandon the union of the left.

But six months before the Parliamentary elections, both parties seem to be getting ready to campaign separately—without a common program.

"It all fits."

The surprise rift has dismayed and disheartened countless supporters of the union of the left. But the largely youthful crowd of Communist militants who flocked to cheer Marchais seemed almost relieved and happy to be cut loose from Socialist allies they obviously distrusted.

Mitterand's bid to inspire confidence as a leader above parties and platforms has obviously exacerbated chronic Communist suspicion of a pending sell-out. He seems unaware that only a precise program could allay deep and growing suspicion in the PCF rank and file of an imminent socialist "betrayal" of the working class.

Under the heading "it all fits," the Communist newspaper *l'Humanite*

today noted on its front page that Mitterand was about to hold talks with West German Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt—who last year unabashedly disclosed what it called "scandalous plans" made at the Puerto Rico summit of advanced capitalist nations to interfere in Italy's internal affairs to keep Communists out of government.

Mention of Schmidt's name at tonight's rally produced a chorus of boos and hisses. Marchais noted that Schmidt's economic policies were no different from those of French Prime Minister Raymond Barre, requiring sacrifices from the working class to preserve profits.

Asked about *l'Humanite's* comment on his trip to Germany, Mitterand could not resist a crack that brought groans from journalists at his press conference: "If the left wins, some people shouldn't be put in charge of issuing passports." Mitterand's taste for this sort of jibe at assumed dictatorial tendencies of communists is a clue to his shortcomings as a uniter of the left.

Non-partisan leftists are baffled that their hopes might be dashed by quarrels over a common program they would accept one way or another, just so the left could get together and win.

Since the PCF called for the updating which turned into a Pandora's box, it is having to mount a major campaign to show that the PSF has backtracked since 1972. It is stressing that the nationalization it seeks is necessary quantitatively to change economic policy and is qualitatively more in keeping with the "self-management" supposedly advocated by the Socialists.

Meanwhile, the tiny far left parties, the PSU and the Trotskyist LCR, are complaining that the entire negotiations have been carried on over the heads of working people. They are calling for broad discussion at the base to impose unity on the leaders of the quarreling parties.

against its "economistic" rivals, it would attract a younger generation concerned about quality of life issues—ecology, urbanism, feminism and local control.

The past year has seen the end of illusions in the Socialist Party. Since the big influx of 1974, membership has actually stagnated around 160,000. Its social composition is still predominantly upper middle class—professionals, functionaries and professors. None of the leaders and only an estimated 7 percent of the members are working class. The workplace sections, which hardly compete with the Communists in activism, are concentrated in schools, post offices and hospitals.

The CERES, the most Marxist and militant wing, has barely held its own, while toning down its rhetoric about the autonomous movement of the masses. Autogestion has been relegated to the distant future or minor cooperative sector. Militant trade unionists and the pure anarchist spirits of 1968 have resigned, denouncing the new technocracy in command.

Internal democracy itself has suffered. While the statutes allow for the representation of all currents on leading bodies, debate has hardened around majority and minority factions that are not very strong on participatory democracy.

The majority is composed of a coalition of left politicians, who, tired of a lifetime of factional struggles, are bent on winning and assuming ministerial posts with grace and dignity. Held together by the Communist alliance and a loose Marxian ideology, they are also bound in their admiration for the synthetic genius of Mitterand, who with the help of young experts, makes all the important decisions.

The minority CERES is run by a handful of young theoreticians, whose original blend of Marxism, lacking a material base, tends toward the abstract and rhetorical, especially when they refuse to challenge the infallibility of Mitterand. In the choice between an elitist Marxism and ideological fuzziness, the vast majority of Socialists—some say 80 percent—remain outside of the discussion. They, too, are held spell-bound by left unity and the charisma of Mitterand.

Socialist and middle class.

Despite or perhaps because of these obvious flaws, the party continues to surge ahead as the leading party of France. Its electorate of over 30 percent is practically a mirror image of French society with some overrepresentation of white collar and middle strata. As a primarily electoralist party dedicated to socialism, it is truly a party of a new type, a party that is no less socialist because it is middle class and no less middle class for being socialist.

Following the June congress at Nantes Mitterand is more than ever in command, a truly remarkable leader who combines rare political skill with a profound humanism (see *ITT*, July 6). Brilliant, mordant and reflective, Mitterand is one of the finest products of French parliamentary politics and the egalitarian tradition. Originally a simple democrat, he has had to learn about socialism from young university graduates only because he saw that the struggles for social justice in France had to be waged by a united Left.

The two time Presidential candidate, a skillful orator and debater with a mocking wit and abiding faith, has won his place as the most respected leader in France. Having won his place, he is now preparing to assume responsibility for a Left government that, to borrow a CERES phrase, will "neither betray nor perish."

Artistic fuzziness.

Under the difficult circumstances of a

Continued on next page.



Georges Marchais, Communist Party head

Fransman

AFRICA

Ogaden Somalis oust Ethiopians

By Roger Mann
Pacific News Service

WERDER, ETHIOPIA—Abdillahi Mohammed, a bearded, toothless shopkeeper, stood in the doorway of his now shelf-bare mud and wattle shop in this dusty trading town, whose center has been reduced to ashes by Ethiopian artillery fire. "The past few weeks have been better than all of my 65 years under Ethiopian occupation," he said, "because finally I am secure and my family is safe from Ethiopian harassment. No, I'm not afraid they will come back."

From windswept village to windswept village in the Ogaden, the semi-arid southeastern part of Ethiopia inhabited by ethnic Somalis, the fiercely emotional, well-armed people tell similar tales.

The long-struggling Ogaden Somalis—who say they never recognized Ethiopian sovereignty or considered themselves Ethiopian in any way—claim to endorse fully and to identify with the insurgent Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF).

In what has become the first full-scale war between independent African states, the Ethiopians were driven out by the Somalis during ferocious battles in July ending 80 years of military occupation. Only a near miracle or massive foreign assistance, it is now apparent, will give Ethiopia's beleaguered regime enough muscle to regain this occupied third of its country.

Somali annexation likely.

It wasn't easy for the Somalis to drive the Ethiopians out of the Ogaden. But the locals are now so well armed that an Ethiopian return will be many times more difficult. Every nomad has a gun and even 20-year-old girls carrying Soviet AK-47 assault rifles are being mobilized into people's defense forces.

The WSLF takes credit for the victory, but in fact it has been fully aided by the Somali government. When pressed, any Somali will admit that the Ogaden will probably be annexed by Somalia when the fighting stops.

It is difficult to tell where the WSLF ends and the Somali army begins. Because Somalia continues to claim its army is not involved, the government makes great efforts to blur the distinction. But in Dire Dawa two Somali soldiers said they were from the regular Somali army and a downed MIG near Jijiga had clear Somali markings.

The Somalis are fighting their "holy

The Western Somalia Liberation Front is trying to end 80 years of Ethiopian occupation in the Ogaden. If they succeed, as is now likely, they will urge that the Ogaden become part of Siad Barre's Somalia.

war" more for the allegiance of the Ogaden people and their right to participate fully in the Somali nation than for the barren territory itself. Despite the possible existence of some oil, probably uneconomical to extract, the blistering harsh land has little economic or strategic value.

The proud Ogaden Somali nomads say they are fighting a war of national liberation because they were colonized by the Ethiopians during the last century just as the Italians, British and French colonized other parts of their nation. And in the Somali capital of Mogadishu, as well as in the Ogaden, there is a remarkable spirit of Pan-Somali nationalism.

By most definitions the Somali nation already includes Ogaden and, in fact, a large portion of Somalia's political and military leadership, perhaps 20 percent, is Ogaden born. Even President Siad Barre has family there.

"That boundary has never meant anything to us," said Ali Goni, a gray-bearded WSLF political leader. "As nomads, when we search for water and grass for our goats and camels we don't go through customs and immigration, and when we want to send our children to school or get a passport we have always gravitated towards Mogadishu and not Addis Ababa."

"We are Somalis," said Bashir Mohammed, another WSLF political leader. "And even if the Ethiopians had kept their promises and had given us schools, hospitals, roads and local autonomy, we still would fight them because



Somali leader Siad Barre

they are colonizers and our heritage and heart is in the Somali nation."

Ethiopia adamant.

With a third of their land and perhaps their whole national existence at stake, the Ethiopians are unprepared to cede any of their country. The Ethiopian government blames any grievances the Ogaden Somalis may have on the insensitive rule of the late Emperor Haile Selassie, who was deposed three years ago, and on the Somali government, accused of permanently stirring unrest in the Ogaden as a prelude to the present military action.

Faced with another secessionist movement in the northern province of Eritrea, Ethiopia is now at a juncture where national disintegration seems entirely possible. With Jigjiga now fallen to the Somalis, the war has entered its most crucial stage.

The major battlefield is now shifting to Harar and Dire Dawa, Ethiopia's fourth and third largest cities. And if Dire Dawa—a major air, rail, fuel storage and manufacturing center—should fall, Ethiopia would then be without a frontline bulkhead from which to attempt to reconquer the Ogaden. The war would be virtually over.

Soviet and Eastern European armaments are currently pouring into Addis Ababa by air. The hard-fighting Ethiopians are well armed, but three years of revolution have thinned out the ranks of

experienced military officers. The country's two new army divisions and the hastily trained people's militia are no match for the well-disciplined Soviet-trained Somalis, who are fighting to realize their shared dream of a unified Somali nation.

The Soviets have all but abandoned the Arab-backed Somalis, formerly their closest friends in Africa. It is quite clear they now side with the Ethiopians. But with the possibility of an Ethiopian defeat growing greater, the Russians are trying to keep their foot in Mogadishu's door for as long as possible. Having until recently held the commanding power position on the strategically situated Horn of Africa, the Soviets could easily wind up without significant influence in the region.

The U.S. has also done some diplomatic flip-flops in the area. After first announcing its willingness to supply arms to Somalia—a move that could alienate many other African nations that view the Somalis as waging a war of aggression—Washington has at least temporarily backed off on arms sales. This could give Ethiopia a brief reprieve. Yet so far the Soviets have refrained from the massive commitment that could turn the tide.

Roger Mann, a Nairobi-based correspondent for the Washington Post and Pacific News, has just returned from the Ogaden war zone, the only correspondent to visit both the Ethiopian and Somali sides.

THE FRENCH LEFT

Socialists/Communists

Continued from page 9.

Giscardian Presidency, Mitterand believes that a Left government can only survive if it achieves a broad consensus of the people. This imposes a special obligation on the Socialist Party, the partner of moderation and flexibility. Only it can win over the hesitant middle-of-the-road voter who, dissatisfied with the present regime, is still skeptical of the Common Program and mistrustful of the Communists. Only it can reassure small business interests and prevent panic selling; only it can neutralize the hostility of conservative opinion and discourage subversive activity. Only it with its international connections can secure the benevolent neutrality of European and German Social Democracy, a vital asset in the contest with imperialism.

To achieve this consensus, Mitterand, the consummate politician feels he must

appeal to people as they are rather than as the Communists might like them to be. To do this, he needs a free hand, a certain "margin of improvisation" and "artistic fuzziness" on the issues.

These considerations explain the conservative posture he took during his televised debate with Premier Raymond Barre and his attitude toward the CERES and the current negotiations with the Communists. Rather than assuming his accomplished role as tribune of the people, Mitterand decided to use the long-awaited debate as an occasion to demonstrate his economic competence. In a type of argumentation directed at the technocratic class, he would show that he could manage the economy better than "the best economist" in France. Tripped up by Barre in a clever reversal of the student teacher role, he not only lost the debate on technical

points, but caused dismay among his working class supporters.

His refusal of a dialogue with the CERES at Nantes was the culmination of a long internal campaign against the one group that could put his judgment into question. Since the CERES, which he labelled "crypto-Communist," did actually agree with the Communists on most issues, any compromise with them would only compromise his own negotiations with the Communists. By attacking the CERES on grounds of factionalism, he could cover up the real issues and secure a free hand in his dealings with the Communists.

Unity in combat.

For the Communists, educated in the tactics of the united front, unity has always been a combat. During the negotiations in 1972, they fought hard to extend nationalization and social reform against stiff Socialist resistance. Later, in 1974 when because of their electoral successes the Socialists began to waver on the program, the Communists launched a public polemic that checked these separatist tendencies. This summer they again took their case to the people in an effort to move the Socialists leftwards.

Without constant pressure they fear their partners will always be tempted by strictly reformist solutions. The struggle against them may cause momentary dismay and even bitterness, but in the end, as in 1974, it can raise the political level of the alliance, the degree of conscious commitment to radical reform, and actually enlarge its base of support.

Placing little faith in the force of reason, the Communists rely on the mass pressure as the best instrument of persuasion. Through the CGT, the major labor confederation, they have brought more moderate unions into the struggle against capitalist austerity. Aiming at the industrial working class, they are recruiting at the fastest rate since the Liberation and, in a minor way, drawing some Socialists to their side. With the onset of the economic crisis that has ended prospects of middle class mobility, it has become possible to involve many middle strata elements, normally favorable to the Socialists, in the mass movement. So far, however, their combative tactics have failed to move the Socialist Party itself.

Bernard Moss is the author of The Origins of the French Labor Movement.

Memories of an Ex

A FINE OLD CONFLICT

By Jessica Mitford
A.A. Knopf, 1977, \$10

Jessica Mitford (*Daughters and Rebels* and *The American Way of Death*) says in the introduction to her new book of memoirs that she wrote them "to exorcise a destructive poltergeist that [has] kept knocking about in the furniture of American politics, the Communist conspiracy or Red Menace . . . also to lay to rest some myths created by the 'I was duped' school of American ex-Party members."

Disclaiming any intention to "sort out the tangle of events in the Communist world of the postwar era," she recommends to the interested student of that subject *A Long View from the Left*, Al Richmond's brilliant, analytical autobiography that "deserves to become a classic." (An endorsement this reviewer enthusiastically endorses.)

All that *A Fine Old Conflict* purports to be is a reconstruction of Mitford's experience as a part of the Menace during those years and as an ex-Menace thereafter; a description of "the fascination, difficulties and frequent joys of being an 'activist' in an embattled, proscribed (and to me occasionally comical) organization."

Given Mitford's ruthlessly iconoclastic brand of humor and the desperate dignity of much of the CP leadership, the book might have turned out to be a belly-laugh, giving aid and comfort to "enemies of the Party" of all political colorations. That it is something much closer to Richmond's book demonstrates the depth of her commitment to the party's objectives and her sense of comradeship with the majority of her erstwhile fellow-travellers.

Joining up.

The Truehafts (Jessica Mitford is Mrs. Robert Truehaft) joined the party at just about the time it ceased to exist as a party, during the brief, Browder-sponsored Communist Political Association, dedicated to class collaboration in the war effort and the reconstruction to follow.

Mitford, who had been trying to get in ever since the start of WW II was "secretly disappointed to discover that its revolutionary goals seemed to have faded away."

She was delighted when the intervention of the French CP leader, Jacques Duclos, tipped the scales and permitted the William Z. Foster faction in the American party to regain control from the Browderites.

With all her boundless energy, and despite the demands of two small children and a house to run (a chore for which her English upperclass background had given her neither training nor taste), Mitford threw herself into the tasks assigned her by the Northern California organization—first as working head of the Civil Rights Congress in Oakland, and later as county finance director for the party itself.

She was witness—to some extent party—to at least two of the sudden "sharp turns" of the Line in the years she described, and her comment on this phenomenon is thought-provoking.

"Did I feel we were automations, blind followers of the Line as handed down from on high? There was an element of that, but that is not the whole picture. . . . The Party operated on the principle of 'democratic centralism', which meant that all members were required to study, discuss and vote on all matters of policy; once the decision had been taken, each member was bound by it, whether or not he or she personally agreed with it. . . . This did not particularly bother me. I had regarded joining the Party as one of the most important decisions of my adult life. I loved and admired the people in it and was more than willing to accept the leadership of those far more experienced than I. Furthermore the principle of democratic centralism seemed to me essential to the functioning of a revolutionary organization in a hostile world."

The terrible 20th.

One area in which Mitford's account differs sharply from Richmond's concerns the effect of Krushchev's revelations (to the 20th Congress of the CPSU) on Stalin's "horrendous crimes." Mitford did not share the general anguish, she reports, because she "had never been as thoroughly convinced as most comrades of Soviet infallibility."

She took an optimistic view of the catastrophe: that the very fact of the revelation proved the Soviet leadership was "set on a course of fundamental change" that would result in political and intellectual freedom there and that the CPUSA would "overhaul its entrenched and ossifying leadership" and end its "fairly obvious thralldom to the S.U."

The discussions that followed involved the Truehafts in a collective elation that could be equated (in hindsight) with that of the Prague Spring of 1968.



Edward Sorel

The Truehafts facing into the winds of change, from the cover of *A Fine Old Conflict*.

"There was an exciting mood in the air of untrammelled, critical reexamination of old preconceptions." Jessica was selected as a delegate to the CPUSA's next national convention, the one that was to decide whether the party would make "the effort to seek an independent road to socialism consistent with the realities of American politics . . ." or remain "in the grip of the hidebound, orthodox leadership of past decades."

The Truehafts' reason for leaving the party a year later were rooted in the belief that although the convention chose the right path, its decisions were nullified by a maneuvered takeover of the leadership by the Foster faction. When the Truehafts and some of their co-workers became convinced that "the Party had become a stagnant, ineffective sect," they decided they could "better serve the cause by devoting the time we spent doing Party work to outside movements for radical change."

Unwilling to "silently steal away," they met with their local chairman, explained their position and left "with no recriminations, no bitterness—and certainly no regrets on our part that we had devoted all those years to the Party's cause."

On the contrary, on reading her expurgated FBI file (nearly 20 years later), Mitford writes, "Subject must confess that . . . she felt an unbecoming surge of pride, not unmixed with gratitude to the Communist Party for all it taught her, for the avenues it opened up for her to take part in what she perceived as the crucial battles of the day."

Lifeitselfmanship.

In a sense, Mitford also owes a debt of gratitude to the CP for her start as an author. In the "empty days" after she had been hounded from her first real job (as a telephone solicitor for the *San Francisco Chronicle*) by FBI harassment, she was struck by an idea. Her novelist sister, Nancy Mitford, had just put together a best-seller called *Noblesse Oblige*, exposing the differences between "U" and "non-U" usage, by which the British upper class defines itself. Since in Jessica's view the Communist Left also defined itself by language, why not a booklet on "L" and "non-L" usage? It was also the season of the annual fund-drive for the *People's World*, and it might be possible to market the product in sympathetic circles and devote the pro-

ceeds toward the Mitford "quota" of \$50.

She was trying her hand at translating from the vernacular into party jargon when a friend dropped in and immediately sat down to dash off an L translation of a poem. ("Tell Me Not in Mournful Numbers", cf p. 13.) Bob Truehaft volunteered to comb *Political Affairs* for "some authentic examples of recent L writing." Another friend produced some pen-and-ink illustrations. A comrade who worked in a business office filched and contributed the mimeograph paper. And Truehaft's secretary volunteered to cut the stencils.

The book "wrote itself." The most time-consuming aspect of the whole project was assembling, collating and stapling the original edition of 500 copies, which the collaborators did on the Truehaft kitchen table.

Understandably apprehensive about the reception of such irreverence, Mitford decided to disarm potential denunciators by "a checklist of appropriate criticisms of the author." But she need not have worried. *Lifeitselfmanship* had bloomed in the most favorable of political climates.

Orders came in from all over the U.S., from Canada, England, Australia, and Japan. At one point a thick envelope arrived "containing an order from Moscow for one copy with instructions to fill out the invoice in quadruplicate, allowing best trade discount." Feeling this beyond her powers (or her patience), Mitford wrote back that she was sending a copy as a gift to the Soviet Union. "Some months later a letter arrived from Moscow: 'Since you neglected to quote our original order number, we are unable to use your gift.' In that quarter at least, the thaw was over."

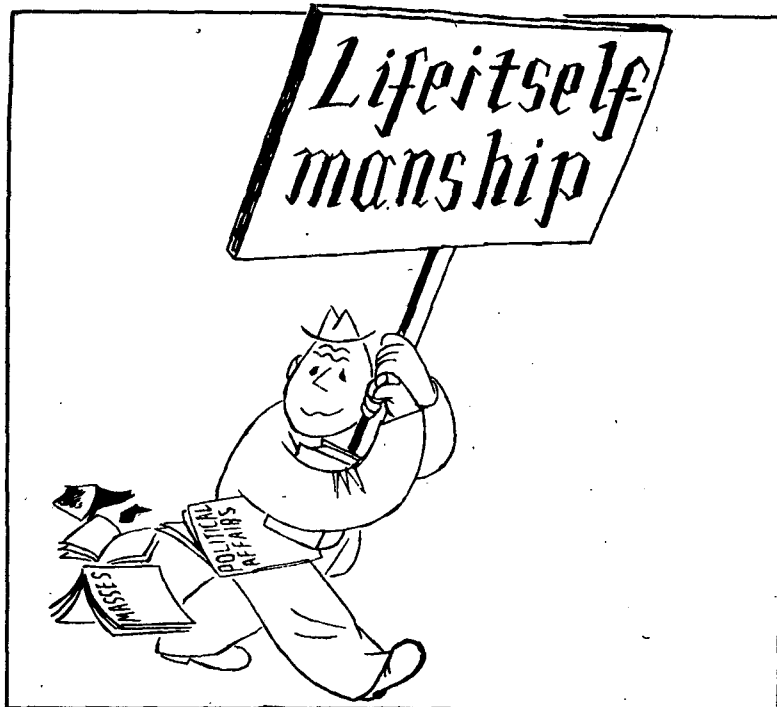
The booklet eventually sold 2,500 copies, was reviewed (favorably) in *Political Affairs* and the Communist and the non-Communist press, here and abroad, establishing its author as "published" and "enriching the PW's treasury (since there were no expenses) by the undreamed-of sum of \$1250."

A facsimile edition—without updating—appears as an appendix to *A Fine Old Conflict*, serving perhaps as an answer to the last question Mitford asks in the text of the book: "Did we not, in fact, leave something of a heritage for future radical movements to inherit?"

—Janet Stevenson

The entire text of *Lifeitselfmanship* with the original illustrations appears on the two following pages

Lifeitselfmanship or how to be



CREDITS

The author wishes to extend recognition to the many friends who have encouraged and helped her in the task of preparing this short manual; to her husband, who researched much of the material; and above all, to the editors and contributors of *Political Affairs*, the *Daily Peoples World*, *Masses and Mainstream*, without whose invaluable inspiration this book would never have been written.

The English-speaking world has just been treated to a glimpse into the mysteries of English upper-class usage by the publication of *Noblesse Oblige* (by Nancy Mitford and others). Because of its immense snob appeal, this book is fair on the way to becoming a best seller. The author points out that "it is

solely by its language that the upper class is clearly marked off from the others". Theme of the book is a discussion by the various contributors of what they call "U-usage". U means Upper-class; non-U (obviously) means non-Upper-class. A few examples should suffice:

Non-U

Pleased to meet you
Lounge
Wealthy
Serviette
Dentures

U equivalent

How do you do
Hall (or dining room)
Rich
Napkin
False teeth

Anyway, you get the idea.

Since it's unlikely that many left-wingers will either read the book, or, if they do, find much in it of practical value, we felt that it would be profitable to offer a short course in current L (or left-wing) terminology. A spot-check survey has convinced us that the need for such a course, both for begin-

ners and for more advanced students, has long been felt by many.

This is by no means offered as an exhaustive study of the subject; it is merely a beginning. We sincerely hope and believe that more qualified scholars will take up where this paper leaves off. As a start, we will give a few easy translations:

Non-L

Time will tell whether that plan was O.K.

At the present time we need to find out what's wrong with some of the most important unions.

Suggesting a bum plan.

Non-L woman (to husband): I'm having tea with Mrs. Snodgrass this afternoon. Some of the nursery school mothers will be there; we're going to talk about expanding the school.

L equivalent

The *correctness* of that *policy* will be *tested in life itself*. (Alt., in the *crucible of struggle*.)

In this *period* there is a need for *clarity* on the *weaknesses* of *certain key sections* of the labor movement.

Projecting an incorrect perspective.

L-woman (to L-husband): I'm going to spend the afternoon doing *mass work*. (Alt.: At a meeting of my *mass org.*) We are *projecting* some *expanded goals* on the *Woman Question*.

An L-man does not speak up at a meeting; he *contributes* to the *discussion*.

THE FOLLOWING SHORT EXAMINATION IS INTENDED TO RATE yourself on your own mastery of L-usage. Please use the honor system; cover the answers (on the right) with a piece of paper before attempting to tackle the exam. Do not be discouraged if you make a low grade. There is worse to follow.

Questions.

1. Mo-what-oly what-italism is based on super profits?
2. He-what-ony of the what-letariat?
3. List various types of tasks.
4. List as many words as you can think of ending in -ize.
5. List various moods to be avoided. (Hint: moods usually seem to go in pairs).

6. What is Wall Street drunk with?

7. What must we do soberly?

8. List various kinds of struggle.

9. What-illating petit bourgeoisie?

10. How would you describe labor leaders with whom you are in disagreement?

11. What does one do with cadres?

12. List as many words ending with ism as you can think of. Warning: obvious ones, like fasc, social, imperial, etc., don't count.

13. What is happening to the contradictions in the situation?

14. What must we establish with the toiling masses and their allies?

15. How do contradictions get started?

16. List various kinds of fronts.

17. Unholy.

18. National, Farm, Woman, Youth; decisive (confronting the American people).

19. Small; middle-sized; family-sized; Associated.

Having completed the exam, you are no doubt anxious to dig in further and learn more about the *correct approach* to L-usage. For the convenience of students, we have attempted to organize this part of the course under self-explanatory section headings:

Retail Selling or Mongering Section:

Answers

1. Nop; cap.

2. Gem; pro.

3. Historic; immediate; before us; concrete (see Building Trades below); varied, etc. etc.

4. Mobil; concret; final; political; character; crystal; polemic; etc.

5. Pessimism and despair; fatalism and complacency; confusionism and obscurantism; recklessness and adventurism; complacency and passivity; etc.

6. Temporary but illusory success (correct answer); Old Grandad (incorrect answer).

7. Evaluate, estimate, assess, anticipate (correct answers); go down to the nearest bar (incorrect answer).

8. All out, political, class, cultural, principled, many-sided, one-sided, inner Party.

9. Vac.

10. a) The Reuthers, Hutchinsons, Meanys, Wolls, & Co.
b) Mis-leaders of labor
c) The Greens, Hillquits, Thomases, & Co. (obs.)
d) Lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

11. One develops them, trains them and boldly promotes them; poor things.

12. Chauvin; diversion; narrow-sectional; exceptional; liquidation; adventur; revision; sch (got you there); opportun; confusion; Browder; tail or Khvost (obs.); Keynes.

13. They are sharpening and deepening. Also unfolding. (Sometimes they even gather momentum with locomotive speed.)

14. a) closer ties
b) firmer links
c) durable alliances
d) unshakable ideological ties/links/alliances.

15. They either *stem from* or *flow out of* situations. Sometimes *roots of problems stem from contradictions*, a botanical anomaly.

16. Popular; broad; united (if typing, try to avoid a common typographical error, untied front (see Cheesecake Section below); cultural; water.

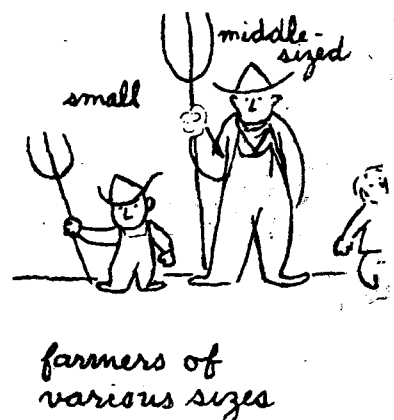
17. What sort of alliance generally exists between a) the McCarthyites and Dixiecrats, and b) between the police dept. and Oakland Tribune?

18. Name some Questions.

19. List various sizes that farmers come in.

War mongers; phrase mongers; hate mongers; fear mongers.

Wholesale Section:
Doing *bidding* of monopolists
Wholesale slashing of living standards
Wholesale wage freezes
Wholesale price increases (By the way, this latter always really means retail price increases. The



farmers of various sizes

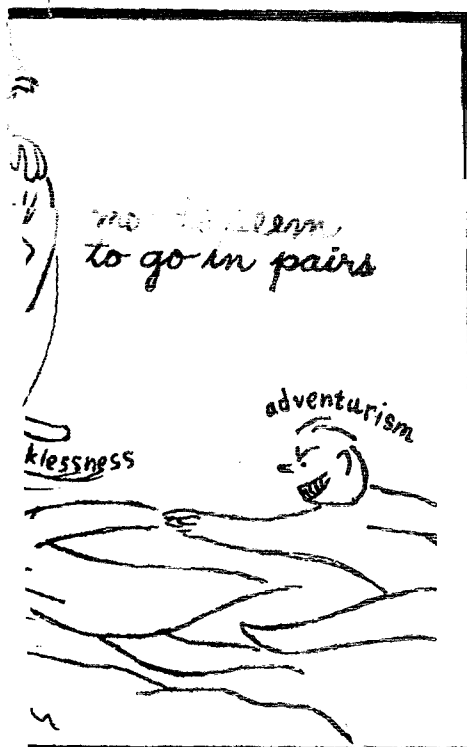


baby going out with bathwater and dead horse (beat)



An Investigation into current L (or Left-Wing) usage by Decca Treuhaft, Illustrated by Pele

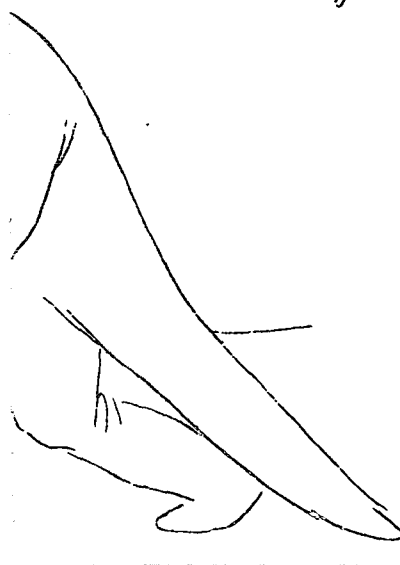
come a precisely-because man



family-sized



why don't you
have an affair
and raise
some money?



authors do not feel equipped at this time to go into the reason for this.)
The bulk of the American people

Aquatic, or Water Sports Section:

In the main
Mainstream (of American life—we must find our way into it).
Launching (campaigns, programs of action, etc.)
Broad current (usually, of political thought)
Baby and bathwater (not to be thrown out together)
Fishing (in the muddied waters of popular discontent)
Herring (red—dragged across path)
Ships: relation (of forces), unholy partner, etc.
Liquidationism
Flowing from

Building Trades Section:

Architect (of cold war—Dulles & Co.)
Should start with balanced (or rounded) estimate
Laying the foundation (for more advanced political thinking)
Building toward (a firmer foundation)
Cementing (ties, unity, etc.)
Forging (links, ties, unity, etc.)
Welding (ties, unity, etc.)
Undermining (ties, unity, etc.)
Levels (of understanding, militancy)
Concrete (situation, leadership, estimate, appraisal) (v.t. concretize)
Hammering (out the line)

Locksmithship Sub-Section

Key (issue, question, link in chain, concentration)

Canine and Equestrian Section:

Dead horse (beating a)
Stable base
Captains of industry, riding rough shod
Stalking horse of reaction
Running dogs of imperialism (must be curbed)
Mad war dogs of fascism (mustn't be unleashed)
Galloping to its own destruction (imperialism, or sometimes Wall Street)
War chariots (of Wall Street, etc.)
Dogmatism (for an end to!)
Tailism (or Khvostism, obs.)
(See Exam Question No. 12)

Outdoor (or Camping) Section:

Areas of agreement
Camps are too numerous to list. Among them are:
Camp of peace
Camp of National independence
Camp of Democracy (usually, enormously strengthened)
Camp of World Imperialism (usually, shaken to its very foundation)

Sub-Section (Scouting):

Tying together key issues confronting broad strata of American people.

Electronic Section:

Negative and Positive (approaches, viewpoints, programs, etc.)
Elements (democratic, peace-loving, corrupt, disruptive, vacillating, wavering, honest, rotten, dishonest, petit

bourgeois, etc.) We do not advise being an element as you run the danger of being isolated from the mainstream (see Water Sports, above).

Charges (things some elements are sometimes brought up on).

Needle Trades Section:

Pinning (down responsibilities)
Hemming (the Labor Movement in with contradictions)
Cloaking (with demagogic phrases, or with left-sounding slogans)
Vested (interests)

Cheesecake Section:

Popular Front
Broad Front
Untied Front (see Exam Question No. 15)
Well Rounded Points (made in discussion)
Broadly Based
Affairs (in non-L usage, means an illicit love relationship; in L usage, fund raising gatherings. This has been known to create moods of confusionism and obscurantism in discussions, e.g. saying to non-L people: "Why don't you have an affair and raise some money?")
Well Developed Cadres
Fresh Approaches

Grammatical Section:

What does Wall Street's Policy spell? (World Disaster)
What does it not spell? (Prosperity for the bulk of the American people. See Wholesale Section, above)
What does complacency spell? (The road to defeat)

Gastro-Intestinal Section:

Assimilate (working-class theory)
Bloated (Capitalists, obs., except in cartoons)
Purging (of disruptive elements. See Electronics Section)
The Movement (also mass movements and narrow movements)
Only through struggle will anything come to pass.

Traffic Control Section:

Crossroads, at the (imperialism, America, etc.)
Approaches (correct, right, left, broad, narrow, fundamental, multiple)
It's no accident that
Avoid right and/or left errors
We cannot adopt a middle of the road policy
Driver's seat (e.g. "Dulles is temporarily in the")
Roads (to socialism, fascism)
Turns (we must learn to make)
Drives (P.W., etc., known in non-L language as campaigns or crusades)
Utilizing all paths

Gardening Section:

Rooting (out petit bourgeois influences; oneself in the neighborhood)
Growing (political maturity, also various moods)
Digging (deeper into a host of questions)
Deeply rooted in theory
Flowering (of creativeness, political maturity, etc.)
Fertile fields (for political activity)
Withering (away of the state, obs.)

Non-L Poem

Tell me not in mournful numbers
Life is but an empty dream

And the soul is dead that slumbers
For things are not what they seem.

Let us then be up and doing

With a heart for any fate

Still achieving, still pursuing

Learn to labor and to wait.

L Translation

Do not project to me in moods of pessimism and despair

The perspective that no positive conclusions can be drawn from the present relationship of forces

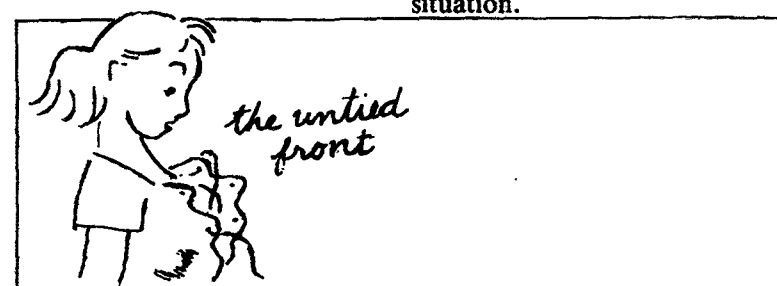
For we must focus attention on the key issues.

Let us therefore mobilize the broad masses

To a realization of their historic task within the political climate

We shall continue to win victories in the crucible of struggle

As we develop correct tactics adapted to the concrete situation.



APPENDIX

Some authentic examples of recent L-writing:

"IN STRIVING TO LIQUIDATE THE COLD WAR, THE GREATEST weakness of the peace forces in the United States is the ultra-reactionary character of the Meany group of mis-leaders now dominating the A.F. of L. and soon to have their influence spread further, through the current merger of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O."

Political Affairs, Oct. 1955.

"OUR PARTY MUST COUNTERACT DAILY AND HOURLY THE POLITICAL, ideological and cultural influences of the war camp, expose and isolate the reactionary Social-Democratic and labor-reformist ideologists of Big Business, who strive to demoralize the working class and tie it to Wall Street's war program."

Political Affairs, Feb. 1951.

"OUR IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE HAS TO BE CONDUCTED AS A CONCRETE struggle arising from the unfolding events. It should be carried on in a language and in forms that the workers can understand and in terms of their own experience."

same article, Political Affairs, Feb. 1951.

"YET NOTE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE FACT THAT IN THE 1954 Program the previous position of the Party on self-determination in the Black Belt has been modified—in fact, dropped."

Political Affairs, June 1956.

"THEREFORE ONE MAIN CONCLUSION THAT THE WORKING CLASS and all popular forces must draw is that it is necessary at every juncture to prevent and defeat the stubborn efforts of the economic royalists to thwart the popular will."

Political Affairs, June 1956.

"AT THIS JUNCTURE WE SHOULD PARTICULARLY STRESS THE next immediate stage of progress for the people of our country—which is inseparably bound up with, and requires the crystallization of a broad democratic front coalition, under progressive labor leadership."

Political Affairs, June 1956.

"WE WILL LIKEWISE FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE MAIN TASKS OF the movement and the period ahead, especially the forging of a labor-democratic coalition whose potential for effectively curbing the power of the trusts will grow ever more mighty."

Political Affairs, June 1956.

We are quite sure that many readers will now wish to criticize the author. For the convenience of readers, a check-list of appropriate criticisms is given below; however, of course, readers are not limited to the check list.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anti-leadership | <input type="checkbox"/> Right-Opportunism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anti-theoretical | <input type="checkbox"/> Left-Sectarianism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rotten Liberalism | <input type="checkbox"/> Philistinism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fails to chart a perspective | <input type="checkbox"/> Petty Bourgeois Cynicism |

If you would like to send in suggestions for inclusion in subsequent editions, please use the space provided below (or attach extra pages).

HAVING COMPLETED THIS SHORT COURSE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE average L-man will find himself better equipped to go out and start boring-from within?

Free-Lancing in the Land of Opportunity (Ltd.)

In commenting on public funding of abortions, President Carter stated, "Well, as you know there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't. . . . I don't believe . . . [in making] these opportunities exactly equal . . ." Little did we innocent citizens imagine that Carter's little homily might also reflect his aversion to the aborting of Bert Lance's political career.

For in embracing the man he calls his friend, partner, and almost a brother, and endorsing his moral integrity even after reading the Comptroller's report impeaching Lance's propriety and judgment, Carter obviously believes in an inequality of opportunity in assessing the moral rectitude of his wealthy confidant as against that of other poor mortals.

It was not the same "moral factor" Carter cited against the poor in the abortion matter, but political pressure, that impelled him to let his chief of balanced budgets go.

Rather than rehearse the obvious, let us consider some other implications of the Lance debacle that have gone ignored or little noticed.

Lance's interest-free loans in the form of overdrafts, the multi-million dollar personal loans from huge northern banks holding interest-free "correspondent accounts" from Lance's bank, the use of bank funds for political purposes, the "sale" of his \$80,000 airplane to his bank for \$120,000 and his then using it for personal and political purposes, reveal more than the double standard routinely dividing the rich and well-connected from the rest of the people.

Lance's conduct illustrates the extent to which capitalist enterprise involves the use of social wealth (bank funds) in the name of "development" by private operators for private gain, instead of its



The most proficient and tenacious practioners of "permissiveness" are the rich and the powerful...freelancing may acquire a new meaning in the American language.

use by socially responsible agencies for the public good.

It reveals that however much capitalists sermonize over the benefits of a balanced national budget, they know that the road to their own private wealth

often lies through massive deficit-spending of other people's money.

It also illustrates the fact that the capitalist market operates far more on the basis of power relations, social and political connections, and negotiated pre-

rogatives than the text-book abstractions about impersonal forces of supply and demand or "competitive efficiency" would lead us to believe.

In skirting, stretching, or violating the law, Lance's business and political conduct, moreover, discloses another mundane fact of life in the Land of Unequal Opportunity: that while for the mass of the people the law and its enforcers may be a menace and a restraint upon their pursuit of happiness, for the rich and powerful they are more often a resource, an aid to the "big chance," and at worst an inconvenience. Is that not what the Comptroller of the Currency, the FDIC chief, and the Federal Reserve official were saying when they told the Senate committee that a growth-bound bank would do well to hire Lance?

The most proficient and tenacious practitioners of "permissiveness" are the rich and powerful themselves.

Finally, the Lance affair tells us that the conflict of interest afflicting public officials from their personal business holdings is endemic, as the Senate's delicacy and reluctance in first confirming and then chastising Lance reveal. But the more fundamental conflict of interest flows from the fact that politicians who are capitalists in private life—that is, most of them—cannot objectively serve the public interest when it requires, as it so obviously does today, policies that would impede or abrogate the capitalist system of investment for profit in general.

Lance had to go before implications such as these became too apparent to too many people. And before the term "free-lancing" acquired a new meaning in the American language—instead of signifying the rigor and self-discipline associated with the self-employed writer, the double-standard "moral factor" of the self-permissive rich and powerful.

Running on the Left in tennis sneakers

The candidate in the hat became the candidate in tennis sneakers—running not fast but quietly. Bella Abzug, the fire-eating Democrat of the left, ran in 1977 for Mayor of New York like Republican presidential candidate Thomas Dewey ran in 1948.

What happened to Dewey happened to Abzug. Truman beat Dewey by identifying himself fulsomely, however meretriciously, with labor, blacks, and progressivism. Abzug lost to Koch and Cuomo by soft-pedaling that identity in hopes of votes from the center. She ended up neither attracting such votes nor mobilizing those of labor and non-whites.

The Abzug campaign covered only New York City, and New York is not a typical American city. But New York's problems are nevertheless common to those of all American cities. Abzug did much better statewide (37 percent of the vote) running a dynamic issue-oriented campaign for the U.S. Senate than she did running quietly for mayor (17 percent of the vote), but she lost both times and fell far short of assembling a stable political bloc. It is therefore possible to draw some conclusions of relevance to the socialist left generally from the New York City mayoral campaign.

Abzug's defeat is not a personal failure. It is neither fruitful nor just to blame her or her strategy as such, any more than it is intelligent to blame the collective personality of the "people" for not being good enough to "deserve" her. Rather, Abzug's defeat is symptomatic of the inadequacies of the

American left in general, of which her New York campaign was one manifestation.

What ails the American left pivots upon what ails the socialist segment of the left. Because, while the left is larger than its socialist part, the socialist movement has always been vital in the left's forging a programmatic coherence.

Obsolescence of reform.

Criticism of Abzug as a candidate of the left must therefore begin at home—with criticism of ourselves as socialists.

We socialists are simply not providing American working people with a viable

Criticism of Abzug must begin with criticism of ourselves as socialists

political leadership. We are still divided between those who proclaim their socialism divorced from electoral politics, and those who engage in electoral politics not as socialists but as (left-) liberals. The nonelectoral socialists have no credible strategy beyond protest politics, which leaves them within the limits of reform whatever their intentions; the electoral-oriented socialists, on the other hand, continue to pursue a liberal-coalition strategy at a time when liberal reform of capitalism can no longer serve to mobilize working class and progressive people into a unified political front, but tends to divide them.

Socialists have not offered the left a programmatic coherence and identity,

leaving it an amorphous mass vulnerable to division along racial and ethnic lines.

In such a political vacuum, it is only natural that a candidate of the left like Abzug should rely on personality and put on her sneakers in dealing with the issues. But in this case a strategy of "winning" through image-management is a no-win strategy for the people—or for Abzug. Even had Abzug won election, what could she do in office different for Koch or Cuomo in the absence of a mobilized left popular force united around a coherent public program?

Where we socialists have failed is in bringing to the people in a way that is

prepared or good enough.

In New York City in particular, where the bankers and other Lords Corporate have so overtly taken over running the city from the elected representatives and officials, the issue of capitalist mismanagement versus democratic self-government and a workable economy is ripe for the raising. That issue is more and more becoming the question of the day in other American cities and in the nation as a whole. We socialists need to put aside our arcane squabbles, dispel our sectarian hang-over, and give our highest priority to learning how to make every election a popular referendum on the general welfare under socialist self-government versus social disintegration and oligarchy under capitalism.

A socialist presence of this sort would revitalize the left in American politics as a coherent force with moral authority and political power, and bring into the electoral arena the poor and dispossessed whose absence from it now (of 2 million voters only 800,000 or 40 percent, voted in the New York primary) makes a viable left politics in the U.S.—and New York City—impossible.

Until we learn to do that with well-defined programs shared by a well-organized political movement, until we have forged a movement whose credibility for governing and effecting its program is convincing to the people, a movement that can politicize the mass of inactive eligible voters; until then, even stalwart fighters on the left like Abzug will continue to run for office in sneakers. And not only in New York City.

Letters

Redbaiting?

Editor:

The article on the American Federation of Teachers Convention (*ITT*, Aug. 31) gave an important critical analysis of the AFT's failure to cope with necessary issues.

However, your final paragraph vitiated the value of your article. You departed from the issues and indulged in straight redbaiting. This old tactic should be repudiated by new forces seeking change. Your snide comments about UAC will only serve to keep forces divided and to perpetuate the educational problems we face.

As Union Teachers who lived through the McCarthy era, we condemn this tactic and suggest in its place constructive criticism to build a united defense of our educational system.

Ros & Sam Lowrie
Lake Luzerne, N.Y.

Editor's note: The paragraph referred to said that the Communist party maintains a low profile in the AFT because the union leadership and a good part of its membership is explicitly anti-communist, and that the CP operates through the United Action Caucus. We believe this to be an accurate statement of fact and not red-baiting. Unfortunately, many leftists, especially Communists and former party members or those formerly close to the party, think that any reference to the CP and any identification of its activities is redbaiting. We do not agree.

Murray Kempton wrote in *A Part of Our Time* that the Communist party is unique among political parties in that its members are consistently embarrassed to admit their affiliation with it. We understand that in the 1950's and early 1960's there was good reason not to advertise party membership. But times have changed. It is interesting that none of the three letters we have received complaining of redbaiting because we said the CP operates through the UAC have said this is not so. If it were not so, then we would agree that our reporter's reference was redbaiting.

Shame

Editor:

Alvah Bessie, in a strained effort to say everything possible that might disparage Richard Nixon (*ITT*, Sept. 21) has gratuitously attacked the only major poet of his time to voice social protest effectively [John Greenleaf Whittier]. For shame.

John Cound
St. Paul, Minn.

Even when he disagrees

Editor:

Congratulations and thanks. You're doing such a fine job. Even when I disagree with you, you're at least saying intelligent things no one else is saying.

Eugene Dionne
New York City

Dear Ratsus, won't you please come home

Editor:

Dear Ratsus, please come back. We miss you. All is forgiven. Love from an ardent admirer,

Charlotte Klose
New York City

Kudos for Ross

Editor:

Thanks to Bob Ross (*ITT*, Sept. 14) for his beautiful article on the SDS reunion. Those of us a little younger should learn, and are learning.

Robin Read
Portsmouth, N.H.

And more

Editor:

I sat on my front steps and cried at Robert Ross's "Lions and Lambs" (*ITT*, Sept. 14). Many of us are feeling the same way, about ourselves, our history, our future. It was a beautiful article—that captured the fact that amidst all the "political" struggle, we remain *people*, frail, afraid, brave, strong, and able to love and change.

Thank you for sharing so well this experience with me.

Michael Brown
Rutland, Vt.

People needing people

Editor:

Robert Ross's "Lions and Lambs" (*ITT*, Sept. 14) is a beautiful article about people realizing that that's exactly what they are—people—with the same faults, loves, hurts, and needs as others.

No concerned person should feel that s/he must cancel his or her membership in the human race in order to be a political activist or revolutionary. Taking care of one's emotional needs is—or should be—as important for a Marxist as for an "apolitical" capitalist. Subjugating humanity to politics has several ill effects: people burn out more easily; viewing fellow activists as ideological and tactical stances instead of individual people can lead to unnecessary factional warring and political ineffectiveness; and the initial idealistic humanitarian goals of a left movement may become perverted.

Working with the Clamshell Alliance in New England has been invigorating and enlightening. While at the Seabrook nuke site, and later while incarcerated in National Guard armories, the feeling of personal support, concern, and understanding—among ourselves, with our outside supporters and sympathizers, and even, to some extent, with the guards—was very important to all of us. A lot of barriers seemed to melt away: between men and women, men and men, young and old, yankee and southerner, rich and poor.

It got rather hard to tell who was gay and who straight, who a professor and who a student, who famous and who unknown—and it didn't really matter. We were equals with mutual respect for our human individuality. The Clamshell and the anti-nuclear movement in general are persistent, durable, strong, and getting stronger all the time, but I don't think they would be if we didn't take care of ourselves and each other.

Miles Ehrlich
Middletown, Conn.

A correction

Editor:

I would like readers to know that I did not approve of cuts made in my own and Nancy Lieber's "Dialog" (*ITT*, Sept. 7) and that I particularly objected to the headline: "I am innocent says Johnstone—at least of these charges," since it gave the impression I said something I never said. It never occurred to me that my "innocence" of anything—and certainly not of being "factional"—was a serious issue.

Diana Johnstone
Paris

Bella, bella

Editor:

Bella Abzug's defeat in New York's mayoral primary is cause for anguish and disappointment. But that leads us nowhere if we do not analyse the reasons for this debacle.

What can we say, based on what Paul DuBrul (*ITT*, Sept. 21) has given us thus far?

1. The power of ethnicity—Bella did not get the support of racial minorities or white ethnics. One can understand

why Blacks and Puerto Ricans had their own candidates. However, why must the appeal to white ethnics be rightist rather than leftist? Is it because liberals and radicals have blinkers on when it comes to ethnicity?

The liberals are caught in the melting-pot trap: Blacks, Jews, Slavs, Germans, everybody is really alike (i.e., everybody is "really" middle class American, "just like us"). The "Marxists" insist class is more important than tribe. Ethnicity is *merely* a device of the bourgeoisie to divide the workers.

Bullshit! We are *not* all alike in our cultural heritage, and, I hope, we will never entirely lose our cultural roots in the great capitalist culture-blender. Our varied backgrounds are not merely due to the rise of the bourgeoisie: they predate that. They have their own legitimacy, quite aside from the rise and fall of social systems.

A successful left will have to recognize the legitimacy of ethnicity, and not leave this to the right to exploit.

2. Lack of Labor support—Bella did not get the support of the trade unions. If this is due entirely to the sell-out of the leadership, why do the rank-and-file follow them? Can we realistically expect that a new generation of labor leaders (and rank-and-file) will not be such centrists? Or is this part of a long trend whereby labor becomes more and more conservative? It appears to me to be more conservative now than in the days of the New Deal, and it was more conservative then than in 1900!

3. Bella's main strength in DuBrul's words was among white middle class liberals. This should recall the 1960s. Where was the chief strength of the anti-war movement, the student rebellion, women's rights, ecology, or sexual liberation? With the sole exception of civil rights—minority rights—*NOT* in the working class!

If America is to move left, and ever to be socialist, the middle class will have to leave liberalism for socialism. To accomplish this, the middle class will have to ally itself with racial minorities and with low-income groups in general, but the middle class is the majority of the population. Unless this majority is won away from the delusions of liberalism, what hope is there for socialism? Not much.

Enough looking down one's nose at "middle class liberals" and dreaming of "next year in Jerusalem" when the working class will finally shed its "false consciousness" and see the Marxist light! Without middle class liberals having a change of consciousness, there is little future in the cause of socialism.

L.G. Wolf
Cincinnati, Ohio

The neutral gene

Editor:

John H. McClendon, reviewing Richard Dawkins' *The Selfish Gene* (*ITT*, Sept. 14) misunderstands the biological theory and social implications of the book. The reviewer, like Dawkins, cites the authority of Science and invokes "mathematical theory" and the "support of leaders of modern population biology." However, the highly speculative contents of this book are not unanimously supported and have been called a caricature of Darwinian evolutionary theory (see *Nature*, 17 March, p. 283).

The gene cannot be the "true unit of selection" since selection operates on individual organisms whose characteristics depend upon the interactions of many genes in interaction with the environment.

It is not science but pure poetic analogy to postulate that ideas "originate, replicate, spread and die according to the same mathematical patterns as genes" and are subject to the laws of natural selection. Population biologists disagree as to what theories truly describe genetic variation in nature. However, ideas are "adapted" for rationalizing existing social relations

and are promoted as established facts of nature.

The sociobiological theory of behavior promoted in *The Selfish Gene* has been used in genetic determinist arguments as an unapologetic apology for existing sex-role and class differentiation on alleged grounds that they are "evolutionarily adaptive."

Readers interested in this active social, political and biological controversy can compare the review cited above in *Nature* with the mystical establishment view in *Science*, 13 May, p. 757. Other sources are: *Nature*, Vol. 267, Correspondence Section, 12 and 19 May, 1977; *New York Review of Books*, (Nov. 13, 1975, p. 43); *Science*, (19 March 1976, p. 1151); and especially *Science for the People*, (Jul-Aug., p. 27) and (May-June, p. 27).

Steven Obrebski
Pacific Marine Station
Dillon Beach, Calif.

The new farmers

Editor:

ITT is one of the best periodicals in the country. We got our first issue in the mail the other day, and I've been running my mouth about it ever since.

Our tip-off came from a blurb in the *Coevolution Quarterly* by Jay Kinney. Like a lot of *CQ* readers, I'm involved in efforts to redesign local agricultural production, helping out groups like the New Alchemy Institute, Boston Urban Gardeners, and Women in Agriculture. Many of us have arrived at a democratic socialist perspective and your paper explains that perspective unusually well.

Working with farmers and inner-city workers has convinced a lot of us that American socialism must be intellectually ample and generous. So it hurts a bit to read Karen Moscovitz's letter (*ITT*, Sept. 14) saying shrill, narrow stuff, saying "Stone and Lehman are not really socialists" because of their views on abortion, and that "we socialists are hindered by those who claim to be socialists but who in fact are not."

Oh well. Keep up your good work.

Conn Nugent
Cambridge, Mass.

Infant aside

Editor:

I was glad you printed an article I wrote about the Nestle boycott (*ITT*, Sept. 14).

However, as edited by LNS, the article contains an important mistake. It states, "Nestle . . . is the focus of the campaign against infant formula abuse for the first time," but omits the important qualification "in the United States."

In fact, a much-publicized court case concerning Nestle's role in this scandal occurred in Switzerland. In May, 1974, the Swiss Third World Action Group translated a British War on Want publication, "The Baby Killer" into German with the title, "Nestle Kills Babies."

Nestle brought four criminal charges against the group, basing its defamation claims on: The title "Nestle Kills Babies"; the charge that the practices of Nestle and other companies are unethical and immoral; the accusation of being responsible for the death or the permanent physical and mental damage of thousands of babies by its sales promotion policy; and the accusation that, in the developing countries, the sales representatives for the baby foods are dressed like nurses to give the sales promotion a scientific appearance. Nestle withdrew all but the charge of a defamatory title two days.

Letters continued on page 17.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Peter Bloch

A long, but sure and painful death is what the neutron bomb provides

President Carter received from Congress during the summer 14 million dollars for the development of a neutron bomb. The Administration chose to orchestrate this appropriation during the summertime to help assure that the dormant peace movement would not be awakened.

The proponents for the development of the neutron bomb argue that it would be an ideal tactical weapon. It would be used with the Army's 60 mile range Lance missiles and with 8" and 155 mm howitzers. The small nuclear weapon, equivalent to about 1,000 tons of TNT would produce minimal fire and blast damage to structures compared to conventional atomic weapons, but the intensive neutron radiation released would be effective in destroying life. Since neutron radiation easily penetrates steel, the military argued that soldiers in a tank would not escape radiation even if the tank escaped destruction from the blast and fire.

The Pentagon justifies the weapon on the ground that it could neutralize the Warsaw Pact nations' advantage in armored infantry in Central Europe.

Many recognize that the neutron bomb is not an effective tactical weapon. Its value as an anti-personnel weapon is in the arena of demoralizing civilian populations. To demonstrate this point, it is necessary to discuss the effects of radiation on living tissue.

Shortly after the discovery of x-rays nearly 80 years ago, it was recognized that radiation could damage living tissue. Precautions were taken almost immediately to safeguard individuals working with radiation. Even as early as the 1920s an international commission established radiation safeguard levels. The medical benefits in the use of x-radi-

ation were enormous. X-ray films are essential for the diagnosis of diseases and have become as necessary to the surgeon as his scalpel. The x-ray exposure necessary for medical diagnostic procedures are extremely small. No evidence of any deleterious effect on people exposed to these low levels of radiation has been observed.

Radiation is also used to sterilize tumors. The radiation is aimed at the tumor and great care is taken to protect normal tissue. A patient undergoing radiation therapy will receive approximately 4000 to 7000 rads spread over six weeks to sterilize the tumor. For reference, a dental x-ray examination requires approximately .5 rads or approximately 10,000 times less radiation than needed for cancer therapy. If vital organs such as the bone marrow are protected, these radiation levels are tolerated and often lead to sterilization of the primary tumor. If however, the radiation is given rapidly and over the whole body, the person will become nauseous and weak and require emergency medical care.

For example, one method of treating a child with leukemia who has a healthy sibling consists of irradiating the whole body to dose levels of 850 to 1000 rads in approximately two to three hours. The radiation destroys the sick child's immunological mechanism permitting a bone marrow transplant from his healthy sibling. Such a course of treatment requires extremely sophisticated medical handling of the patient since the irradiated child may become quite nauseous, have serious attacks of diarrhea and be incapable of fighting off even minor infections. The child is placed in complete isolation for four to six weeks since the

patient has no mechanism for fighting off even minor infections. It is known, that in most cases a dose of 500 rads would lead to death in two months if bone marrow transplants were not available from a sibling donor.

Military applications.

The long time between irradiation exposure and ultimate death raises serious questions about the efficacy of neutron bomb as a tactical weapon. The Armed Forces Radiology Research Institute, which has been testing the effects of radiation on monkeys for years, finds that monkeys will survive 7 to 132 hours after irradiation to a total dose of 4,600 rads. Thus, a column of soldiers exposed to neutron radiation could function for hours before soldiers in tanks would be incapacitated. Certainly enough time for them to release any remaining missiles in their arsenal. The worst of horror movies would not compare with the behavior of soldiers exposed to neutron radiation who knew with certainty that they would die within days.

The American Military knew since the early 1960s that radiation did not lead to instant death in monkeys and hence that a neutron bomb would not be an effective combat weapon. Why then have they pushed for the development of the weapon now?

According to Dr. Herbert Seoville, Jr., former Director of the Special Weapons Project of the Pentagon, a typical neutron weapon would result in a neutron dose of approximately 650 rads, 3/4 of a mile from the center of the explosion. Even at a mile and a half from the center of the explosion, the radiation levels will be sufficient to kill at least 50 percent of the people. The people exposed to these high levels of radiation

will be incapacitated for weeks by vomiting, diarrhea and general illness due to the damage of the immunological as well as the blood forming networks of the body.

Such a population would be sufficiently demoralized to sue for peace at any price.

Vietnam was a testing ground for the use of anti-personnel weapons. One of the more insidious weapons of that war was the plastic pellet anti-personnel bomb. Plastic beads imbedded in tissue cannot be detected by x-ray procedures. This complicates and often makes it impossible for surgeons to find and remove them from the unfortunate victim. The Military considered the plastic personnel weapon a great improvement over metal shrapnel bombs used in earlier wars because the presence of the metal in the person could be easily detected by x-ray films permitting surgical removal in most cases.

Similarly, it seems clear that the military has no intention of using a neutron bomb as a tactical weapon in combat, but to demoralize the civilian population.

The neutron bomb, I believe is the ultimate anti-personnel weapon since it results in a slow death lasting for several months and one that puts enormous strains on the medical community. This summer the military obtained funds to develop such a weapon, but when the issue of deployment of the weapon is raised, I hope enough voices will say that such a weapon is a reprehensible insult to the human race—enough to stop its production and to prevent its use.

Peter Bloch is Associate Professor of radiological sciences at the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania.



Joshua Dressler

Free to choose your own destruction Laetrile, helmets and libertarians

How can one be a Libertarian and a Socialist simultaneously? The answer is that one *cannot*, but many socialists have apparently been flim-flammed into preaching the libertarian creed.

On first blush it is easy. The Libertarian Party's philosophy is that government should not enact "paternalistic" laws. They believe that the less government and the more power the people retain for themselves the better. Libertarians favor legalization of marijuana and homosexuality, and free access to all literature, including pornography. Fine. They also oppose governmental intrusion into people's lives.

Fine, socialists think. But this is a knee jerk reaction. We often oppose *this* government; we often struggle to limit government censorship, discrimination, surveillance, and police statism. But, as socialists, we do *not* oppose the concept of substantial public power in economic affairs.

The libertarian philosophy, in its purest form, does just that. Libertarians not only reject governmental intervention in the private sphere, but also in the economic sector. They oppose taxation, social welfare, and other regulation of business. They favor a society in which corporations are unfettered.

Coalition with libertarians on certain issues may be possible and necessary. But espousal of their creed is not. Their creed is not only anti-socialist, but dangerous. Two examples should suffice.

Many people have in the past fought against laws requiring motorcyclists to wear helmets. Some of these people have believed that this precaution would not reduce injuries. Still others have suggested that helmets actually *increase* injuries,

because they restrict peripheral vision of the driver. If they are correct, of course, then motorcycle helmet legislation is certainly inappropriate.

Libertarians, however, have a different approach to the matter. That helmets increase or decrease driver safety is entirely immaterial. They simply—and simplistically—oppose the government telling people they must protect themselves.

Unfortunately, libertarians have been a powerful lobby on this matter. They have persuaded many people, including progressives, to take a stand against governmental "intrusion into our private lives." They have convinced the people who dislike seat belt warning buzzers, and those who simply distrust government, to take a stand against helmet legislation. The result has been clear. Legislators have dropped such proposals, and a few states have even repealed such laws.

Significantly, in states that have repealed helmet laws, the number of deaths and brain injuries to helmetless—but "free" motorcyclists have increased drastically. Many of those who previously opposed such laws now have changed their minds. Not the libertarians. Since the issue to them was never safety, but rather "freedom of choice," they consider their work to have been a success. For motorcyclists; however, it has been a defeat. The average motorcyclist did not want the right to kill himself or herself. Libertarians, however, apparently do not ride the motorcycles.

Or consider Laetrile, and the Food and Drug Administration ban on this alleged cancer cure. There are those who

think it is a tremendous breakthrough in cancer cure, and they offer evidence to support it. Others, aware of the cowardice and conservatism of the American Medical Association have sided with Laetrile backers, even though their support has meant that they have given comfort and aid to those trying to reap incredible profits from the drug. To libertarians, again, they have seen the issue as another opportunity to foist their "freedom of choice" dogma on the innocent. They speak of giving the terminally ill cancer patient the right to choose between Laetrile and traditional techniques.

It sounds sensible, and it has duped a lot of progressives, but in fact it is a highly dangerous and counter-productive doctrine. Cancer patients want a cure to cancer, not freedom of choice. If Laetrile works, and traditional techniques do not, they want the drug. Who would not? If both Laetrile and traditional means will work, they want the right to choose, as well they should have the right. But, if Laetrile is a hoax, they certainly don't want—or need, nor should they have—the "choice" of a worthless drug that kills its users and profits its pushers.

Indeed, in states that have recently lifted the ban on Laetrile there are reports of *non*-terminally ill cancer victims who opted for Laetrile over traditional surgery which would have stopped the cancer. They died. Maybe the reports are wrong. Maybe they were incurable. That is not the point. The point is that such stories could be correct. If Laetrile is worthless, and I stress "if," socialists should call for its ban. Let the libertar-

ians continue to cry for "choice." Let us call for "health."

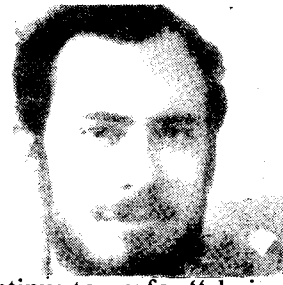
The question ought to be with Laetrile, and motorcycle helmet laws, whether the drug or the legislation will work. The government has the duty to conduct careful, cautious, open-minded, and intelligent investigation into all of the scientific, medical, and other objective data on the topic, and then to act accordingly. Our duty is to make sure it makes the proper judgment, not to prevent any judgment at all.

To strip the government of the power to make such laws is also to strip it of the right to prevent the sale of dangerous cars, and to prevent the sale of products with Tris, and to ban sale of flammable children's clothing. It would also strip government of the right to keep incompetent doctors and lawyers out of the profession, and con artists out of our living rooms.

This is no small issue. Libertarians today continue their battles in various parts of the nation to prevent flouride from being used in our public waters, and to insure us saccharin in our Tabs. If they succeed we may avoid the dangers of flouride and fatness. Or we might see our teeth rot and our cancer rates escalate.

What is most horrible, though, is not even the spectre of such dangers, but that the libertarians will be satisfied if we had the "freedom to choose" our own destruction. Let us reject that choice.

Joshua Dressler is associate professor of law at Hamline University Law School in St. Paul, Minn. His column appears regularly.



The Supreme Court: Forward or Bakke?

"... No state shall ... deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws ... " (Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution)

At the heart of two recent Supreme Court cases—*Defunis Vs. Odegaard and Bakke vs. University of California*—lies the question "who is being denied equal protection?" *Defunis* was denied admission to the University of Washington's law school. *Bakke* was refused entrance to the UC Davis medical school. Both schools have "preferential admissions" programs that aim to admit a specified number of minority students, some of whom would be rejected if the schools considered only test scores and grade point averages. *Defunis* and *Bakke*, both white, accused the universities of "reverse discrimination." They charged that they were denied equal protection of the law because of their race.

The U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the *Defunis* case in 1974. After hearing both sides the court held that because *Defunis* had been admitted to the University of Washington law school and was about to graduate, his suit was moot.

Bakke's case goes to the Supreme Court this month. The Yolo County Superior Court in 1976 declared the University of California's preferential admissions program to be discriminatory against whites and unconstitutional. But it also ruled that *Bakke* was not entitled to be admitted to UC Davis medical school. Both parties appealed to the California Supreme Court. When the state Supreme Court upheld the lower court, the University appealed. Since *Bakke* has still not been admitted, the Supreme Court will probably rule on his case.

Ironically, *Defunis* and *Bakke* have both benefitted from the preferential admissions programs. *Defunis* was far down on the list at the U. of W. Even if 36 minority applicants had not been admitted, the law school would have rejected him. Pressure from his suit caused the university to admit him.

In fact, *Defunis's* original suit asked for preferential treatment for himself. As a state resident, he claimed that he should be given preference over out-of-staters, even over those with higher scores and grades. His lawyer advised him that he might get more mileage out of the "race" argument, so *Defunis* shifted legal gears.

Bakke, a 35-year-old engineer, first considered charging the University of California with age discrimination. But Peter Storandt, assistant dean of the medical school at UC Davis, urged him to challenge the preferential admissions policy. Sixteen out of 100 positions are reserved for qualified minority students, and many had lower grades and test scores than *Bakke*. Davis also admitted eight white students with lower test scores than *Bakke* and 35 white students with lower grades. But *Bakke* didn't challenge their right to become doctors, only the right of the minority students.

The Supreme Court justices will consider, along with other questions, whether minority students are qualified. To the American public this is probably the most important issue. Following are some arguments that minorities are qualified for professional schools:

- Special consideration is given to other groups of applicants: relatives of alumni; athletes; veterans; residents of certain geographical areas (private schools tend to favor out-of-staters, state schools tend to favor in-staters and most schools give special consideration to rural applicants); the physically handicapped; and recent immigrants whose English is unpolished.

Columnist Carl Rowan has noted that critics "don't complain about 'reverse discrimination' if it's a 230-pound tight end with a C average who gets in ahead of a bookworm."

- Low test scores, more than any other factor, consign minority applicants to low ranking. But a recent study of the Association of American Medical Colleges shows that blacks successfully completing the first two years of medical school had lower Medical College Admissions Test scores than whites who had flunked out. This indicates that the tests are either biased or imperfect predictors.

- Other examples also indicate the limited value of existing tests. A New York court threw out a civil service test on grounds that it disproportionately excluded minority groups from school principal jobs. While new tests were developed, principals were evaluated by on-the-job performance. By the summer of 1974, rates of appointments (per applications) were: blacks—94 percent; Puerto Ricans—97 percent; whites—93.4 percent.

The Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) has an Early Identification Program that identifies women and minority high school students with a potential interest in engineering and gives them moral and material encouragement. There are summer orientation sessions and arrangements with CETA for part-time jobs. From 1973 to 1976 the number of black engineering students at IIT jumped from 26 to 179. While IIT's overall attrition rate is 15 to 20 percent, the rate for black students is only three percent.

- If tests have a limited predictive value, what do they predict? Certainly not compassion, honesty or commitment to serving the people. Are we then to take seriously the California Supreme Court's opinion that white doctors are as likely as minority doctors to meet the medical needs of minority communities?

Opponents of the *Bakke* decision have begun organizing. Last April the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision held a founding convention of 80 people (representing 60 organizations in San Francisco). Over 100 organizations are now affiliated with the committee. Also, several of the anti-apartheid demonstrations in California last spring raised the demand to overturn the *Bakke* decision.

Supporters of affirmative action find themselves arrayed against two foes. *Bakke*, of course, is the obvious opponent. But activists charge that they have to fight the university as well. The University of California is allegedly *Bakke's* adversary. But administrators appear unwilling to make a vigorous defense of their own preferential admissions program.

The NAACP petitioned the California Supreme Court to let minority representatives present testimony, along with the two parties in the case. The court refused. The National Lawyers Guild, the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund and other civil rights groups have asked the U.S. Supreme Court not to hear the case at all, because of an inadequate trial record.

University attorneys have used only written evidence. Many witnesses were available, but the lawyers have not used oral testimony. Most significantly, they have made no effort to show previous discrimination by the university. The university has resisted demands from minority groups that it hire a minority co-counsel.

For more information, write: NCOBD Box 3026, South Berkeley Station, Berkeley, California 94703. Telephone: (415) 549-3297. For 10¢ NCOBD will send its brochure on the *Bakke* case.

H.H. Wilson

Teacher of Democracy at Princeton

By Richard L. Sklar

H.H. (Hube) Wilson died last summer. He was 68 and recently retired as professor emeritus at Princeton University, where he had been teaching in the Department of Politics since 1947. I studied with him at Princeton, at first because he stood up to the red-baiting witch hunters and cold warriors when it took courage to do that. Soon I developed an immense respect for his intellect and absolute professional integrity.

Although he was young at heart and in appearance, he was older than he seemed, having begun his academic career later in life than most. When I got to know him, I learned that he worried about turning into an academic "vegetable," as he said. He did not wish to (and never did) compromise his principles or change his style to make it at Princeton.

What he did at Princeton is a memorable chapter in American academic history, one that may have no real parallel in the social science departments of Ivy League institutions. For the entire era of cold war politics and anti-communist hysteria, he told his large and popular classes that the official crusade against domestic communism was a hoax, perpetrated upon the American people with cynical disregard for the principles of political liberty. He also understood the nature of the threat that corporate power poses to political democracy and lectured on that subject without pulling his punches when nearly everyone else was silent about it. He analyzed the sell-out of big labor bosses to the corporations and he called the military, media, and "Madison Avenue" moguls to account for the harm they inflict upon democratic values. In brief, he taught an unforgettably exciting course about the way things were and where we were going.

All he wanted to do, he said, was to "shake up" the students who took his classes. He did not have any answers for them, only questions. He tried to

explore problems of power in our society. He lectured formally, quietly, and deliberately. But when he spoke the rafters shook.

He was not widely known beyond Princeton because he never reduced his great course to the book that his friends and students wished to see. Perhaps it was too real and unique to ever become something other than a course. What he did write was direct, practical, and against perversion of the democratic process, as in this excerpt from his 1963 Foreword to an illustrated, critical book about the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

The record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities speaks for itself. No more devastating indictment could be drawn than that provided by its own publications. Serious scholars who have examined the operations and personnel of the Committee from 1938 to the present are agreed that its major contribution has been the degradation of the congressional investigative function. This is the more serious because it is conceivable that the power to investigate may become the most important legislative function as power concentrates in the Executive and secrecy envelops the bureaucracy.

He also studied British society and wrote an academic book about the fight over the introduction of commercial television in Britain during the 1950s. It was so well done, with such appreciation for the moral dilemmas of British conservatives, that it was actually discussed in the House of Lords.

He was an opponent of corporate capitalism and subscribed to his friend, the late Robert S. Lynd's dictum on the ineluctable conflict between capitalism and democracy. Too individualistic to be doctrinaire, too modest to be dogmatic, too intelligent to propound certainties about the shape of things to come, he worried his way through lectures that were never pretentious and always profound. He was larger than life in a small but haughty world.

Richard L. Sklar is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles.

More Letters

Continued from page 15

before the end of the trial in June, 1976.

District Court President Jurg Solberger found the group guilty of this one charge since they couldn't prove murder. But fines were minimal and he explained, "This verdict is no acquittal" (of Nestle). He said the company must thoroughly reconsider its promotional practices to avoid future risks of being accused of immoral advertising.

Nestle has apparently not changed its marketing practices and continues to behave without due regard for the health of millions of infants.

This case is one example of the international struggle to pressure multinational corporations to change advertising and distribution practices. We hope you'll join this effort by boycotting Nestle.

Rebecca Cantwell
Clergy and Laity Concerned
New York City

Israel left

Editor:

I very much enjoyed reading Mandel's piece on the work camp in Nazareth (*ITT*, Sept. 14) but correction is in order: David Mandel is not a member of *Sheli* but of *Shasi*.

Sheli, a "dovish" Zionist election coalition consists of Meir Pail's *Moked*, Arie Eliav (of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestine Peace) and Uri Avneri of *Ha'Olam HaZeh* (a sort of sensationalist weekly).

Shasi (Israeli Socialist Left) is a Marxist non-Zionist group and a constituent of what David calls the DFPE, an election coalition with the Israeli CP, Israeli Black Panthers and other Jewish and Arab groups and individuals and Arab non-CP local council heads who have all agreed to a 6-point platform.

—Renee Hoffinger

Member of *Shasi* (in "exile") and proud owner of a red and black T-shirt like the one Mayor Toufik Ziad is clad in.

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Imports & Steel

Continued from page 3

controls went off, the companies raised prices by 30 percent in nine months, reaping record profits. Import shares began to climb again, and prices kept rising.

Sometimes it looks like steelworkers lose either way—unable to compete working in the old mills, thrown out of work by newer mills requiring less human labor. But now, as in the past, the companies have recruited steelworkers to lobby on their behalf without promising anything in return.

Busloads of Youngstown steelworkers carried petitions to Washington with over 110,000 signatures, demanding protection of their jobs and protesting imports. In U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago, workers got time off to watch a videotaped message on fighting imports—played on a Sony TV.

Union backs companies.

Steelworker union officials accept the company argument. "We don't think American industry should be given any plums," spokesman Ray Pasnick said, "but competition should be on a fair and equal basis."

Still committed to environmental clean-up, the union favors "some flexibility in these marginal situations where complete enforcement would lead to large layoffs," Pasnick said.

However, Wendy Schwartz of the Council on Economic Priorities, which monitors the enforcement of environmental standards, said, "The steel plants that are closing now are not closing because of pollution controls. They would have closed anyway. The steel industry is just so damn old."

Even with full compliance with Environmental Protection Agency standards, the recalcitrant steel industry would only suffer a 4.6 percent price rise between 1975 and 1983, according to an EPA researcher. He denies that environmental standards in the U.S., which are roughly comparable to those in Europe and Japan, make American steel less competitive.

Conflict over benefits.

Cooperative though they are on some points, the union and the corporations are at odds over interpretation of new contract benefits for workers who lose their jobs through plant closings. The companies say that only workers employed on Jan. 1, 1978, when payments start, are eligible.

That may also help explain why there

is a rash of plant closings now.

Despite the automatic anti-import reaction, a more complex union strategy may still emerge. For example, some steelworkers in Youngstown, eyeing plans for new steel mills in other parts of the state, are demanding that companies modernize where steelworkers already live.

Also, at a community meeting in Campbell, a local attorney drew a favorable response from steelworkers and city leaders there when he suggested that the community buy the old Sheet and Tube mill themselves.

"Christ, we've got the talent here," steelworker Gerald Dichery said. "Can we get \$100 million together and buy it?"

Money for such community-owned mills or even for modernization of the industry could come from the federal government, a standard practice throughout Europe, even without nationalization.

"We feel that the country should subsidize the steel industry to the extent that the industry accepts some controls—end pollution, limited profits, modernize," Ed Mann says. "The government will spend million for submarines. Why not a low-cost loan for a community steel plant?" Money used for creating jobs through public works projects could conceivably be diverted to such ends.

Exacting promises in exchange.

Steel executives, *Business Week* reports, prefer import quotas, tax breaks and other indirect government aid. They fear that loans would lead to nationalization or further controls.

Some lower level steelworker union officials and consultants believe that the crucial question for steelworkers now is whether the union and government can exact binding promises from the steel industry for job security, stable prices, environmental protection, and a reduced work week to share remaining jobs in exchange for whatever help the industry receives.

"Like it or not, Jimmy Carter will move to put on import controls next year," one Wall Street insider predicts. "You've just seen the beginning of the plant closings, layoffs and bankruptcies in the steel industry."

Import quotas may protect steel corporations momentarily from their past and present shortsightedness, but they will not cure what ails the industry. And for steelworkers Steel Valley will still be Fear Valley.

Neighborhoods

Continued from page 4

because of the time involved commuting. Many of us have small children," says Sally Martino-Fisher of NCNW.

The curriculum allows the women to continue their community involvement. A social science course, for example, took up neighborhood revitalization and broke into small groups to study community problems in a broader context. Martino-Fisher had been active on the school board, and her group studied schools.

"And when we studied health, it wasn't just an ordinary health class. We learned about all the medical services in the city and how they work. We took the information and now we disseminate it to others in the neighborhood," she says.

The group also fights redlining and has set up a shelter for battered women. There are 20 other affiliates of NCNW, and like NAN, the national alliance leaves room for a lot of autonomy on the local level. "NCNW is a perfect group for a lot of working class women who say, 'I'm not a feminist and yet they really are in their actions,'" says Martino-Fisher.

Nationally, NAN will be holding "people's hearings" in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia around the issue of displacement—the pattern of cities revitalizing for the benefit of middle class whites who are coming back from the suburbs. "We're seeing private investors ejecting poor people from their neighborhoods," says Kotler. "We want revitalization for the benefit of the poor."

Kotler says there's no competition between NAN and the more confrontation-oriented Alinsky-style coalition of neighborhood groups, National People's Action. "Groups can join both, us for policy, NPA for confrontation, and some have," he says.

The group is growing almost too fast, he says. "We're having problems raising funds. But I think we'll hit 500 affiliates in two to three years."

NAN's next national meeting will be held in Chicago, October 14-16. For more information, write NAN, 1901 Que St., NW, Washington, DC 20009, or contact the 44th Ward Assembly, 1045 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, 312/525-6034.

West German terrorists

Continued from page 8

sent officially decided to go on a "crusade to bring clarity back into German culture," involving a revision of the whole educational system and purification of "school books and university texts that deal with controversial themes apt to create conflicts and problems among students."

Demands for the summary execution of political prisoners in retaliation for terrorist crimes have been so strong that in his Sept. 15 speech to the Bundestag defending his handling of the Schleyer case, Schmidt actually felt obliged to give his "solemn promise" that he would not order jailed RAF members shot.

Criticism of terror.

Shortly before the Schleyer kidnapping, lawyers for the convicted members of the Baader band had been campaigning in Europe on behalf of Gudrun Ensslin, reportedly near death from a hunger strike. She and her comrades ended the hunger strike a couple of days before the kidnapping of Schleyer demanding Baader's release.

This sequence of events has led some people in France and Italy, ready to protest against inhumane prison conditions and political repression in Germany, to feel manipulated by the RAF. These protests, lumped together with a rather delirious essay by writer Jean Genet defending RAF "violence" in opposition to ruling class "brutality," have been used by the West German press to feed chauvinism. Both Springer and the RAF seem intent on translating mere concern over civil rights into support for ter-

rorist acts that the overwhelming majority of the left and the liberal intelligentsia heartily disapprove.

"Criticism of terror must become clearer," was the title of an essay in the Sept. 16 issue of the liberal weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* by former new left student leader Rudi Dutschke, whose nearly fatal head injury by a would-be assassin in April 1968 was one of the factors that persuaded Ulrike Meinhof and others to turn to armed struggle. His essay was flanked by two others, by Heinrich Böll and Herbert Marcuse, also condemning terrorism on political and moral grounds.

"In our country," Dutschke wrote, "every terrorist act makes the already stifling social air still thinner and frightfully clouds real conflicts and possibilities for political class struggle." The identification of universities and intellectual circles as "breeding grounds for terrorism" meant an open season on intellectuals, in which "most of us are going to find ourselves either back in concentration camps or in exile."

Once that happens, will the "desperado finally be persuaded that individual terror serves to pervert political struggle, and that he was just being used by the ruling class? Or have the terrorists long since ceased to be moved by any socialist purpose? That is not ruled out. For in their arguments and discussions, so far as one can tell from the outside, there has been no question for quite some time now of social emancipation of the oppressed and humiliated."

Terror, concluded Dutschke, leads eventually to despotism, not to socialism.

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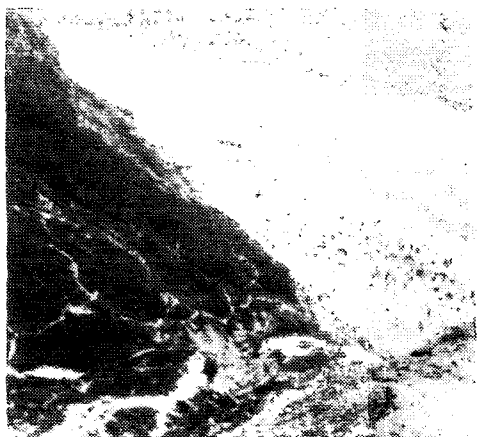
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

RECREATION

San Diego voters beat down nude beach



By David Helvarg

San Diego scored a defeat for personal and civil liberties during municipal elections on Tuesday, September 20th, when it voted for a proposition to ban nudity at Black's Beach, the country's only legally constituted "swimsuit optional" (nude) beach.

With a larger than normal turnout among retired naval personnel and older citizens the electorate voted 86,113 to 70,884 to endorse "Proposition D," which would forbid nudity "on all public beaches [in San Diego] without exception."

The exception at issue was Black's Beach, a secluded 900 foot strip of crystal white sand just west of the University of California-San Diego campus in La Jolla. Accessible only by a steep trail that drops 350 feet down the side of a cliff, or by a mile and a half trek down the beach from Torrey Pines State Park to the north, Black's has attracted thousands of visitors a day, people who enjoy swimming and sunbathing in the nude and see no harm to others in what they are doing.

If you spent much time at Black's during this past summer one of the sights you might have witnessed would have been hundreds of people, young and old, men and women of different races, hair length and physical appearance lining up, sans clothing, to register at voter registration tables that had been set up at the foot of the main trail just below the cliffs.

The Nude Beaches Committee, the political voice of the Black's Beach constituency was gearing up for what would prove to be a broadly based, albeit unsuccessful, campaign against what one Beach Committee member referred to as "the creeping forces of Anita Bryantism."

Popular for 50 years.

Nude bathing has been popular at Black's and a number of other California beaches for over 50 years. Until recently, however, nude bathers risked arrest and prosecution for "indecent exposure," a felony charge requiring life-long registration as a sex-offender.

In 1970 Chad Merrill Smith was arrested at Black's and pled guilty to the felony before learning of the registration requirement. He hired a local lawyer and began a fight that ended in the California Supreme Court. On June 13th, 1972 the Court ruled that merely being nude was not indecent exposure.

That ruling greatly increased the popularity of nude bathing so that by the end of that summer over 1000 people a day were making the trek down the cliffs to Black's Beach.

After a poll showed that most voters were not interested in the moral issue of nudity, opponents of Black's Beach focused on taxes and on a scare campaign raising bogus charges about widespread crime and sex on the beach.

In September 1973 the Black's Beach Committee was formed to defeat a bond issue that would have upgraded access to the beach, thus threatening nudity by ending the beach's isolation. Some 13,000 signatures were collected by the committee to keep Black's open to nudity. The bond issue went on to defeat.

City council designation.

Then in Spring 1974 the City Council came under pressure to close down a smaller, less isolated nude beach in the Ocean Beach area of San Diego. The City Attorney advised the council (wrongly) that the courts would not uphold a total ban on nudity in the city, and suggested an ordinance that would ban nudity on the one beach while legalizing it on the other. As a result, on May 18th, 1974 the City Council voted to legalize Black's Beach as a "swimsuit optional beach." The first legally recognized nude beach in the country.

The Black's Beach Committee, together with displaced Ocean Beach nudists, members of the Sexual Freedom League and the American Civil Liberties Union formed the Nude Beaches Committee, both to fight for additional space for nude bathers and to take care of the various problems that increased popularity was bringing to Black's. They organized volunteer trash pick-up around the cliffs, lobbied for additional access routes for seniors and the handicapped, sponsored annual celebrations and put out T-shirts showing a nude couple walking on the beach.

Since the '74 City Council vote Black's has become one of San Diego's most popular beaches. A poll this summer showed that 49 percent of San Diegans between 18 and 30 years of age had spent time at Black's, and a crowd of 25,000 on the 4th of July outdrew both Sea World and the Zoo.

Enemies of the beach.

Still Black's Beach seemed to have more enemies than friends. On June 25th Mathew Ponech, a San Diego businessman representing a "Christian taxpayers group" went before the City Council and asked that the question of nudity at Black's Beach be put to a referendum. With support from Lee Hubbard, right-wing City Councilman and leader of the local evangelical association, the ques-



tion went on the ballot, immediately becoming the big issue and turning what might otherwise have been a dull primary election for a couple of council seats and a city attorney's office into a hotly debated and widely covered campaign.

The Christian taxpayers formed a "Save Our Beaches" committee (later renamed the "Save The Beaches" committee to avoid the embarrassing acronym). Ninety percent of their initial funding came from 14 rich families who own houses on LaJolla Farms Road. These large homes sit on the bluffs above Black's Beach. Their owners complain that the "swimsuit optional" designation at Black's has brought too much traffic onto the land adjacent to their estates.

"We're really fighting the power structure here, a handful of rich homeowners who want to restrict the freedom of thousands in order to maintain their own privilege," says Jake Jacobs, the neatly bearded, well dressed chairman of the Nude Beaches Committee.

"When the opposition first got organized we saw it as analogous to the anti-gay movement in Dade County. We decided that the first thing we had to do was broaden our own base of support. We called up the Democratic party, various women's groups, ministers, anyone we could think of, making sure to explain that this was a fight over personal freedom and human rights, not simply a question of taking off your clothes."

Taxes and avenging cliffs.

After a poll in July showed that most people were not interested in the "moral" question of nudity as such the Save The Beaches committee started focusing on the issue of taxes. They bought 20 billboards that said, "Don't Pay For Their Play!" They charged that Black's Beach would cost taxpayers a million dollars in lifeguard stations, restrooms and the like.

The Nude Beach Committee responded that several hundred thousand dollars would be needed to upgrade Black's, but saw nothing wrong with that in a tourist oriented city that spent millions of dollars a year on its beaches and parks. They charged that Save The Beaches was using the tax issue as a red herring.

Save The Beaches went on to charge

that Black's Beach has a serious crime problem, that there was sexual activity taking place there, that nude children were being body painted and photographed and that nude beachgoers would, if not stopped, spread out along the city's 30 miles of beachfront until one "either put up with their nudity or stopped going to the beaches altogether." As a final point of human concern they noted that nude bathers might be killed or injured if the cliffs bordering the beach collapsed.

Safer than the neighborhood.

The Nude Beach Committee responded that police reports that showed the crime rate at Black's as one of the lowest of any of the city's beaches. People who regularly go to Black's (including undercover police officers who choose the swimsuit on option) noted no greater amount of sexual activity at Black's than at any other area beach. Several women commented that they got less harassment there than on the streets of their own neighborhoods. Most children were noted to be in the company of their families since many families use Black's. And no one seemed overly worried about being crushed beneath the weight of some morally avenging cliff.

Working out of a garage in the lower middle class Mission Hills district the Nude Beaches Committee built a campaign organization that included 150 canvassers, 4500 supporters and tens of thousands of others who voted with their ballots and their well tanned bodies.

After their election night defeat several committee members got together to talk. "We've moved from being a party group to being a political force for change," one young man said. "We're going to keep fighting both politically and in the courts."

"Besides they can never enforce the ban" a teenage woman with long hair and braces declared. "Civil Disobedience? I wouldn't call it that" an older, more fashionably dressed woman explained. "It's simply a matter of freedom. We've had this beach for three years now and I don't think anyone is going to give up their rights at this point."

David Helvarg is a free lance writer in San Diego.

SPORTS

Women's softball takes off in Boston

By Anita Diamant

It used to be that public diamonds, courts and field were the exclusive preserves of men—ex-jocks reliving high school or college glory, guys drinking beer, staying fit, having a good time together, enjoying the spring, summer or fall. But on any given day now the runner, cyclist or sport enthusiast approaching you is as likely to be female as male.

The national physical culture boom first attracted women to non-competitive sports—jogging, lap-swimming, cycling. But now women have entered competitive sports, from marathon running to lacross, in record number.

Two years ago only 30 teams played softball in the Boston Women's Softball League. This year there are 81 teams playing in nine divisions all over the city. (Men's participation has jumped as well, from fewer than 300 teams 3 years ago to 670 in 1977.)

The names of the women's teams reflect interests, background, neighborhood and even the politics of the participants. *Topliff Tokers* play *Columbia Gold* in the Atlantic Division. Workplace teams represent a wide range of occupations, from the traditional—*Ma Bell's Belles*, *Woolworths* (#1 & #2), *The Meds*, (Blue) *Cross and Shield*—to the non-traditional—*Bread and Roses* (a women-run restaurant), *Equal Times* (a local women's newspaper), *Women's Center and Health Project*.

In this "year of the angels" there are *Sherwin's Angels*, *Ward's Angels*, *Mr. Hay's Angels*, and of course, *Charlie's Angels*. In response to all the "angels," "dolls" and "girls," one team decided to be *Nobody's Baby*.

Boston is a city of neighborhoods—*Neponset Hoodsies*, *Savin (Hill) Sluggers*, *Brighton*. The *South Boston Marshals* and the *Ebonettes* echo the city's racial tension.

Bob Curran, coordinator for the Women's Softball League, says games have to be scheduled in "neutral" territory to avoid trouble. "It's never the players," he said, "it's the crowds."

Many of the best teams seem to be sponsored by neighborhood bars. According to one player, "Drinking beer is a big part of women's softball."

Crossroads vs. JBL

The first women's softball game I attended involved the two most winning teams in the best city division—the only one to allow players to steal, slide and bunt. Coach Elaine Hanlon had led the *Crossroads* (a bar) to a 9-2 season, tied with the 1975 and 1976 league champions, *JBL* (electrical contracting company). *JBL* has basically stuck together since coach Elaine Lombardi helped coach their high school team four years ago.

The second and final meeting of the regular season for these teams was scheduled for 6:00 one evening in August. *Crossroads* had won the earlier game. It was threatening to rain so everyone was there early, warming up and anxious to beat out the clouds.

At five till six a group of men approached and started waving a permit at the *JBLs*, claiming rights to the diamond. The team's leader "suggested" that the women move to an empty baseball diamond across the park. (A baseball diamond differs from a softball diamond with 90 vs. 60 feet between bases).

The *JBLs* and *Crossroads* "suggested" the men go play at the Little League diamond themselves. A *Crossroads* pitcher hammered the rubber into the mound and the women took the infield to warm up.

The men started practicing in the out-

field to prevent the game from starting. They also called the police.

"This happens all the time," "Ah, they always win," "The Park department is always messing up like this and usually the girls have to give in," grumbled the women.

Unlike the women, the men had no umpires and were not part of the organized city league. "This is just a government inter-office game," said one man who argued with his teammates that in fact they should leave. "These girls are organized. This is an important game."

The police showed up, told everyone they were acting childish and flipped a coin to settle the matter. The women won it on a 50-50 chance. Can you imagine the cops flipping a coin if the scenario was reversed? Imagine 20 women with their inter-office teams harassing, postponing and seriously threatening the game of an organized, umpire wielding, division-leading group of men.

League organization poor.

According to Coach Lombardi, league organization is terrible. "This sort of thing is not unusual and the women get kicked off. But my biggest complaint is that the men get the best fields. They give us holes, pits, for fields. The kids could get hurt."

Most players agree and feel that a woman running the league would be preferable. "this is a girl's sport. There ought to be girls running it." Bob Curran, on the other hand, said there were no complaints or problems about a man's running the women's league.

Although *JBL* got an early lead and kept it, the game was tense. The official men's league game across the park was called for rain during the women's fourth inning. But the women's umpires didn't stop play, so batters towed their bats and pitchers wiped off balls and the game continued for the full 7 innings, with *JBL* winning 11-7.

Thirty spectators and two full, vocal benches weathered the storm to watch the action. Competition was intense but good natured. The coaches kidded each other and watched their own players intensely, yelling instructions, reminders and encouragement. Between innings there were huddles, "We're down 4-1. Be mad! Get some runs."

Playing for fun seriously.

Most of the players in the Boston League are between 19 and 30 years old and many are dedicated amateur athletes. Being a member of a team can take from two to four evenings a week, depending on the number of practices and games scheduled. Some players also coach or officiate. (There are 6 umpires on the *JBL* bench, all with opinions.)

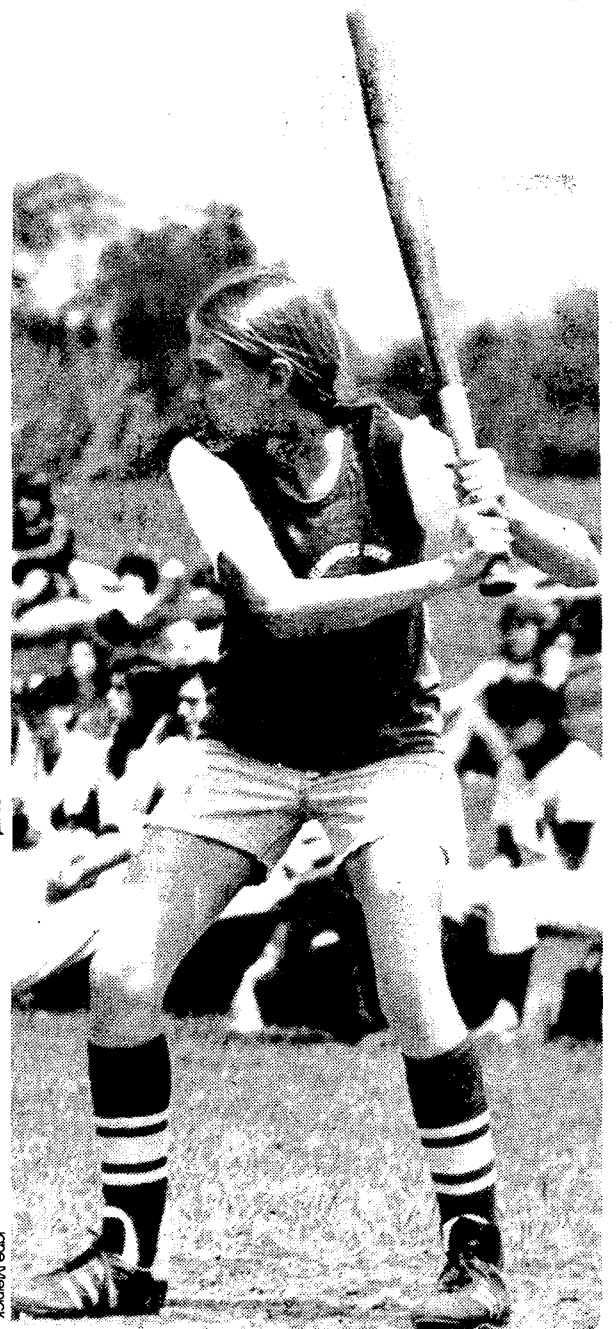
Softball league players also tend to be basketball and/or volleyball players. Many played for high school or college teams, though for others sports is a relatively new interest.

The women don't feel much support from the Parks department or the city. "They take us very lightly" is the consensus. And there are complaints about lack of coverage in the media. "I called the *Globe* last year about the championships. There was nothing about us—even in the local neighborhood paper. And we won the championships," recalled Lombardi. Men's league play, especially slow pitch, is given far more coverage.

Support and encouragement come from teammates and even competitors. Players from other teams attend games and yell for friends and favorites.

League coordinator Curran typified the players as "girls getting out of the house in the evening." But almost all the

Team play is for women now, as it has been for men traditionally, an opportunity to share the pleasure of testing individual skill and strength with and against peers you respect and enjoy. It is about the best sport has to offer.



JOE WENICK

"girls" I met put in 8-hour clays at work. A 6:00 p.m. game is hardly a boredom-killer.

It is for women now, as it has been for men traditionally, an opportunity to share the pleasure of testing individual skill and strength with and against peers you respect and enjoy. It is about the best sport has to offer.

The liberating aspect of sport is difficult to articulate, submerged as most

American sport is in profit and hype. But "playing for fun seriously" is only a contradiction when money is involved. Amateur women athletes who devote hours to sports are claiming a kind of time for themselves to develop the self-respect that comes of being competent, accurate and informed with the body as well as the mind.

Anita Diamant writes regularly on sports for *In These Times*.

Sports Quiz

By Mark Naison

"Radicals and Racists"

1. Who was the West Indian cricket star who became the first black man to sit in British Parliament and a strong advocate of West Indian independence?
2. Who was the player-coach—a Hall of Fame first baseman—who was considered most responsible for the exclusion of blacks from major league baseball in the 1890s?
3. Who was the New York Yankee star who wrote a sports column for the *Daily Worker* in the 1930s?
4. Name two well-known black leaders of American Communism who were star athletes in college.
5. Name a novel and a play, written by left-wing authors in the 1930s, which had boxers as their leading characters?
6. Who was the offensive lineman who played for St. Louis in the 1960s who was a member of SDS and whose grandfather was a member of the IWW?
7. What famous radical historian was a pitcher for the great semi-pro Bushwick team in Brooklyn?
8. Name two socialist literary figures in the U.S. who spent part of their journalistic careers as sportswriters?
9. What was the title of the counter-olympics sponsored by the Communist International in 1928 and 1932?
10. What was the name of the great Harlem basketball team that played numerous benefit games for the Scottsboro boys?
11. Name two famous heavyweight champions who refused to fight black boxers during their reign.
12. What Hall of Fame shortstop was an active member of the Socialist party?

Answers: 1. Leanne Constantine (Sir); 2. Cap Anson; 3. Red Rolfe; 4. Benjamin Davis Jr., James Ford or Paul Robeson; 5. *Golden Boy* by Clifford Odets, and *Walk Tall, Talk Loud* by Len Zimberg; 6. Rick Sornun; 7. Herbert Aschberger; 8. Heywood Brown and Jack London; 9. Spunkies; 10. The Renaissance Five; 11. John L. Sullivan and Jack Dempsey; 12. Honus Wagner.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Unmasking liberal hatchetmen



ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN WAR AND PEACE: POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY IN THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL PROFESSION

By Jesse Lemisch
New Hogtown Press, University of Toronto, \$3

The Cold War in the U.S. was—and continues to be—an expression of the subtle and often volatile relationship between the advocates of American imperial expansion and the inchoate yet potentially cohesive legions of domestic dissenters. The strategic aim of the cold warriors was to suppress dissent or, failing that, to keep dissenters scattered, ineffective, leaderless and in fear.

Equating any dissent with Communism, friendship for the Soviet Union, or with "disloyalty," the cold warriors have used tactics of convenience: the Truman loyalty-security program, HUAC, the McCarran/Eastland committees, the FBI, the CIA. In the effort to search out and destroy dissent, they have also utilized various fronts, including many colleges and universities. These tactics, though crude, have been effective in preventing the rise of stable anti-imperialist groups.

In the academic arena a variety of tactics have been used to suppress dissent. The lid was recently lifted off those used at Harvard, for many the premier American university. Two victims—Sigmund Diamond and Robert N. Bellah—in letters to *The New York Review of Books* charged that Harvard, while publicly asserting its opposition to Cold War McCarthyism, was privately exerting pressure on them as ex-Communists to admit their past associations and to cooperate with the FBI by naming their associates.

Both Diamond and Bellah implicated McGeorge Bundy, dean of the faculty of arts and sciences from 1953 to 1960, as

the arm twister. Bundy, who went on to play an ignoble role in the Vietnam fiasco and to wind up as head of the Ford Foundation, conceded that he had warned Bellah that his post-doctoral appointment would not be renewed if he failed to speak with complete candor should he be called before "legally constituted public authorities." With Diamond, Bundy took refuge in a technicality—that Diamond had not confessed to him his former Communist ties.

In both instances, the jobs at stake were menial, yet for Diamond and Bellah they represented academic survival.

The publicity aroused by the two cases has created the impression that Harvard was the center of the action; but it was only one institution among many across the country that hectoring and disposed of its Communists, present, former and suspected.

The scope of the Cold War on the campus is documented and explained in this brilliant booklet by Prof. Jesse Lemisch of the University of Buffalo.

Written with verve and becoming sarcasm, the booklet goes beyond its title to become an anatomy of the ideology of anti-radicalism. Although one is not astonished to find reactionaries condemning radicalism, it will perhaps come as a surprise to some that the chief architects of anti-Communism were members of the liberal intelligentsia, especially Reinhold Niebuhr and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. Proposing that ideology was ended, Schlesinger, for instance, spoke of "fire and treason in the blood," "aggressive and sinister impulses" and suggested that irrationality, not ideas, impelled men to action. Radicalism was, in his view, a psychological aberration.

Not only did the liberals erect a scaffold for the campus Cold War, they also contributed victims to the *auto-da-fe* by finger-

ing victims. There was no more sterling anti-Communist in those days than a former Communist turned liberal.

Lemisch points out that "all of these [liberal] individuals and groups were engaged in drawing the line," adding that, "by focusing their activity on drawing the line—rather than opposing the very idea of setting up a line—these liberals were simply expressing their anti-radicalism, their underlying conservatism."

Teachers were relatively easy victims of the Cold War. Their defenders were few and timid. Fear on the campus was so pervasive that even a non-Communist like Chandler Davis received next to no support for his position that he could not be compelled to discuss his politics under oath. Davis went to jail, and I would doubt that the letters of sympathy from former colleagues would fill a book.

At the height of the Cold War on the campus there was no bomb shelter save cooperation with the repressors. The cold warriors did not draw nice distinctions between Communists, former Communists and radicals. They all were perceived as equally harmful.

Lemisch is among those nurtured by the New Left who have dared to step outside the system and sight the possibilities of a different social and economic and political model. When the domestic Cold War bubbles anew, as now seems a virtual certainty, those academics who see the system as impermanent are most likely to be the strongest and most principled foes of the cold warriors. Meantime, Jesse Lemisch's booklet is must reading for anyone who wants to know the score in the recent period of the cold war.

—Alden Whitman

Alden Whitman is a freelance writer who somehow survived 19 counts of contempt of Sunny Jim Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

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NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

Dan Marshall visits Youngstown to talk with laid-off steelworkers; a report on the Teamsters for a Democratic Union conference; David Mil-

ton on China; David Mandel from Israel on Begin's policy in the occupied territories; an interview with the best of the old left sportswriters, Lester Rodney.

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Records



GREG KIHN AGAIN
By Greg Kihn
Beserkley Records

GARY OGAN
By Gary Ogan
Paradise Records/Warner Bros.

In backgrounds and musical styles, Greg Kihn and Gary Ogan are worlds apart. What they have in common is that both are outstanding song writers and singers, artists who know how to create music that is melodic and memorable.

Greg Kihn used to be a self-described "folkie type" from

Berkeley. His first album, released last year, was pleasant though not particularly distinguished. His new Album *Greg Kihn Again*, is first-rate. Whether doing his own material or covering the songs of others (he does an especially nice version of Bruce Springsteen's "For You"), Kihn and his band have a broad stylistic range and a distinctive sound. They move from reggae to folk rock to ballads to all-out rockers with dexterity.

Kihn is a member of a band that is adept both in studio and live performances. Gary Ogan,

Neither Kihn (left) nor Ogan are originals—both are solid and fulfilling artists.

on the other hand, is a virtuoso who appears to be most at home in a recording studio. For this, his first solo album, Ogan has written, sung, co-produced every song and played the majority of the instruments. On my favorite song, "The Road at Stains" (which evokes Bob Dylan's "Tomorrow Is a Long Time") Ogan plays every instrument (guitars, bass, percussion, accordion, organ) and sings harmony with his lead vocal.

Ogan is from Veybourn, a village in northern Scotland, and his roots are in the folk music of that region. He came to the United States, received a master's degree in composition from the Julliard School of Music and got into rock 'n' roll.

The songs on *Gary Ogan* are largely in the soft rock genre, with jazz and folk influences. Ogan reminds me of Paul McCartney in his ability to write songs that are genuinely pretty, but his material is more complex and has much greater lyrical depth than McCartney's. Whether we like it or not, we can expect Ogan's songs to be covered by numerous schmaltzy supper-club singers in the years ahead.

Neither Ogan nor Kihn are "originals"—readers shouldn't check out either of these albums

expecting to find sounds that will open up new dimensions in rock music. But both men are solid artists whose albums continue to bring pleasure after repeated listenings, and that's plenty for me.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis writes regularly for In These Times on rock and reggae music.

LIBERATION MUSIC ORCHESTRA CLOSENESS

Charlie Haden has come a long way since winning the Downbeat Critics "New Star" Award in 1961. As a sideman with Ornette Coleman when he made his historic appearances at New York City's Five Spot in 1959, and as the bassist on many of Ornette's revolutionary '60s sides, Haden helped lay the musical foundations for "free jazz."

Characteristically, his first album as a leader, *Liberation Music Orchestra* (recorded in 1969 and re-released in 1973) was not only aesthetically innovative, but also deeply political. It features his own compositions: "Song for Che" (Che had been killed about two years prior to the recording date), and "Circus '68 '69" (about the 1968 Democratic National Convention). Also included are several songs from the Spanish Civil War (including "Los Cuatro Generales").

The liner notes express Haden's political convictions at the time. "The music in this album is dedicated to creating a better world; a world without war and killing, without racism, without poverty and exploitation; a world where men of all governments realize the vital importance of life and strive to protect rather than destroy it. We hope to see a new society of enlightenment and wisdom where creative thought becomes the most dominant force in all

people's lives."

Unlike many of his musical contemporaries, Charlie has not discarded his politics in the '70s. His latest album, *Closeness*, includes the cut "For a Free Portugal," which as Haden puts it "was written out of my concern to free Portugal from a fascist dictatorship and to free the African colonies under its control for over 50 years."

In this tempestuous piece, Haden is featured in duet with percussionist Paul Motian. Superimposed on the music is a tape recording of a dedication Haden made at a concert in Lisbon in 1971 that featured the Ornette Coleman quartet version of "Song for Che." Haden dedicated the piece to "the black people's liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea." After extended applause, it was performed with raised fist salutes by tenor saxophonist Dewey Redman and drummer Ed Blackwell. Haden was subsequently arrested and held for questioning. His second scheduled concert was cancelled by the police.

Also superimposed on the "For a Free Portugal" cut is an excerpt from a recording made in Angola by the Liberation Support Movement. It features the MPLA national anthem accompanied by battle sounds of an MPLA attack on the Portuguese barracks of Karipande in the Moxico district of Eastern Angola.

The album includes three other duets—one with Alice Coltrane on harp, another with his mentor Ornette Coleman on alto, and a third with pianist Keith Jarrett (with whom Haden has been featured of late in a quartet setting). All four numbers are Charlie Haden compositions that seem to reflect the special qualities of each musician. "Closeness" is indeed what they are all about.

—Ron Sakolsky
Ron Sakolsky writes regularly on jazz for In These Times.

CLASSIFIED

LOS ANGELES DEBATE on the 1st Amendment and the Struggle against Racism. The Black Marines' counter attack against the KKK and the ACLU's defense of the Klan raise questions of the limits to 1st amendment rights and the effect of such limitations on the struggle for social change. Richard Criley, leading activist, and Ben Margolis, well-known lawyer, both with long experience in Civil Rights and Civil Liberties cases will debate these issues on Friday, October 21, at 8 p.m. at 2936 W. 8th St., L.A. under the sponsorship of the Coalition for the Pendleton 14 and the New American Movement. Donation \$2.

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MEXICO IN TRANSITION by Philip Russell, with photos and illustrations by Rius. Covers history, politics, economy, workers, peasants, women, Indians, media, etc. \$5.95 from Colorado River Press, Box 8004, Dept. 1, Austin, Texas 78711

CONFERENCE ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HIGHER EDUCATION (Nov. 11-12 at N.Y.U.)—Keynote speaker Samuel Bowles, U. Mass. Fri., 8 pm, Schimmel Aud., Tisch Bldg., 40 W. 4th St.—Panels and Workshops on the theory, history and politics of higher education with Bowles, Ira Shor (CUNY), David Barkin (Smith Col.), Joel Spring (U. Cincinnati), Sherry Gorelick (CUNY), Michael Brown (CUNY), Mary Feldbloom (District 65), Lee Johnson (Coalition of Black Trade Unions), and others (Fri., 3-6 pm; Sat. 9:30-12 am, and 2-6 pm. For further info, write Center for Marxist Studies, N.Y.U., Wash. Square NY, NY 10003.

ALBANY, NY ITT will sponsor a forum on "Prisons: Rehabilitation or Retribution?" with Leon Van Dyke, former Education Project Director, Dept. of Corrections. Refreshments served. Free. Friends' Meeting House, 727 Madison Ave., Wed., Oct. 12, 8 p.m.

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FILM

Universal strikes again

SMOKEY AND THE BANDIT
with Burt Reynolds and Jackie Gleason

ROLLERCOASTER
with George Segal and Richard Widmark

Universal Pictures

When *Smokey and the Bandit* has its premiere at Radio City Music Hall four months ago, it was kicked around by the critics and left to hang out on the line. Undaunted by this poor start in the Big Apple, Universal calmly rerouted the film to the rural and small town theaters of the South and Midwest. By summer's end *Smokey* was a success story, running second in popularity to *Star Wars*, and *Variety* was predicting that it will gross 45 millions.

The plot is as simple as home cooking. Reynolds and buddy Jerry Reed decide to bootleg a truck of Coors beer past the nose of sheriff Jackie Gleason. They pick up Sally Field along the way and, in a series of fender bender car chases, outrun everything sent out after them.

The comic chase film has been a standard since the times of Mack Sennett's Keystone

Cops. The police in this film are no more competent than their predecessors of 60 years ago. And audiences still revel in the idea of institutional incompetence, of the small "common" man outwitting forces of petty repression. The tag line, "What we have here is a total lack of respect for the law" is a key to the delight audiences take in bamboozling the law in the only way they can—in the movies.

A smaller success story is *Rollercoaster* another Universal Sensurround (extra sound speakers placed in the theater to approximate the sensation of actually riding and falling off bomb-torn rollercoaster rails). Harry Calder is another one of George Segal's Everyman creations, this time an L.A. safety inspector tracking down a restrained lunatic (Timothy Bottoms) who gets his kicks extorting huge sums of money from amusement parks by threatening or actually murdering scores of fun-seeking innocents.

As in *Smokey*, the production values are of high quality and the direction is smooth, in this case the object being to create a controlled and contrived tension: will the hero save the

potential victims at the last second? The only difficulty is that audience identification is impeded by the action's focus which continually shifts from Segal to the patrons until the audience doesn't know who to become.

This ploy, incidentally, goes back even farther than Mack Sennett. D.W. Griffith made the last minute rescue popular in American films in 1908, and three years before that, James Williamson made a one-reeler in England called *Rescue by Rover*.

And so the Universal formula strikes again. (Take a look at how many shows Universal is currently producing for television: *Baretta*, *Hardy Boys* and *Nancy Drew*, *Operation Petticoat*, *Six Million Dollar Man*, *Kojak*, *Switch*, *Bionic Woman*, *Quincy*, *Rockford Files* and *Rosetti and Ryan*.)

The policy is to thrill, but not to inform; to keep audiences "entertained" without questioning how they were manipulated into participating vicariously in these harrowing physical adventures, or the moral adventure of challenging and breaking the law. This is the



Henry Fonda, as a safety official in *Rollercoaster*.

hallmark of bourgeois cinema: films made so that audiences will react, but not ask why.

Both these films are concrete examples of what American audiences, on the whole, expect in the way of entertainment. They define the dilemma faced by alternative filmmakers: how can they reach mass audiences un-

less they are willing to distort their work to meet viewers' expectations? As long as film factories like Universal remain potent, it will be a struggle for anyone who attempts to crack this field on their own terms.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

Tasteful tastelessness

KENTUCKY FRIED MOVIE
By Jim Abrahams, David Zucker and Jerry Zucker
Directed by John Landis
Distributed by United Film Distribution Co., Rated R

Kentucky Fried Movie was previewed by Colonel Sanders' public relations staff, with a view to working out a cooperative promotion, but "because of the nature of the film" it was deemed inappropriate for endorsement by the First Chicken-Frier of America.

It was a wise decision. This satirical smorgasbord is certain to offend almost every sector of the Colonel's public for at least a few minutes out of the 90 it runs. But there will be no consensus on what is offensive.

The three young "creators" wave their cape at every sacred cow on the cultural horizon: news programming and its personnel; educational films; exploitation films; martial arts films (and fans); charity appeals on behalf of particular ailments; TV commercials for beer, headache remedies, sleeping pills, cars; and those nameless supernumeraries who placed the microphones for the Chief of the Plumbers.

Among those who will find their ox gored at some point or other are: blacks, Jews, Asians, Catholics, Hari Krishnas, ABC, the Legion of Decency, NBC, the Muscular Dystrophy, Cerebral Palsy and Multiple Sclerosis campaigns, CBS and your local independent TV station, men, women and gorillas. But most of the offended will stick around to howl with laughter at the assault on the next victim. It

is really a "screamingly" funny movie.

Hollywood history is not exactly rich in success stories in which three young, totally inexperienced filmmakers on a low budget and a short shooting schedule come up with a box-office bonanza on their first try. The background of *Kentucky Fried Movie*, as told to *In These Times* by Jim Abrahams, one of the trio, takes some of the miraculous out of the phenomenon, but it is still unique.

Abrahams and the brothers Zucker have been working on this material since they first got "access to some video-tape equipment" in 1971. "At first we just shot little scenes—take-offs on TV commercials," Abrahams recalls. David and he were just out of the University of Wisconsin. Jerry was still there. One day they decided to rent a room at the student union and charge admission for an evening of "Kentucky Fried Theatre," which would combine some of their filmed sequences with live performance—by them.

"We ran out of all the material we had by the first intermission," Abrahams recalls. "We ran out into the hall and had a quick conference to decide whether to refund half the admission price or try to carry on. We carried on—improvising. It was disastrous. Humiliating!"

But they carried on anyway. And at the end of the year, when Jerry graduated, they decided to take their best material to Hollywood in hopes of getting on the Tonight show (which they never did). They needed a



Rick (King Kong) Baker being directed by John Landis, visible behind him, in the "America AM" sketch.

showcase, so they found an old warehouse on Pico Boulevard near U.C.L.A. and began playing more elaborate versions of sketches that had been well-received in Madison. ("Improvisation worked its way out of our performance.") One actress was added to the company, and from time to time—as material demanded—one or two other actors. But they kept the mixed-media style and the original title. Publicized mainly by word of mouth, *Kentucky Fried Theatre* caught on and settled in for a run of four and a half years.

After two years, the trio knew they were not "full-time acting addicts," and began looking for something else to do. Television and satire turned out not to be made for each other, so the obvious alternative was a movie. The script (several scripts, in fact) was circulated around the

studios but no one bought it.

"Finally a fellow suggested that what we needed was a 10-minute sample." Abrahams and the Zuckers selected three of their favorites, including "Eye Witness News," an X-rated number about a couple making love while watching a newscaster and vice-versa, and "Zinc Oxide," a full slap-stick treatment of a "science short"; sold their cars and other dispensables and made the investment.

The gamble paid off. United Artists came up with the necessary million ("That's a lot of money, but it's low for a film like this.")

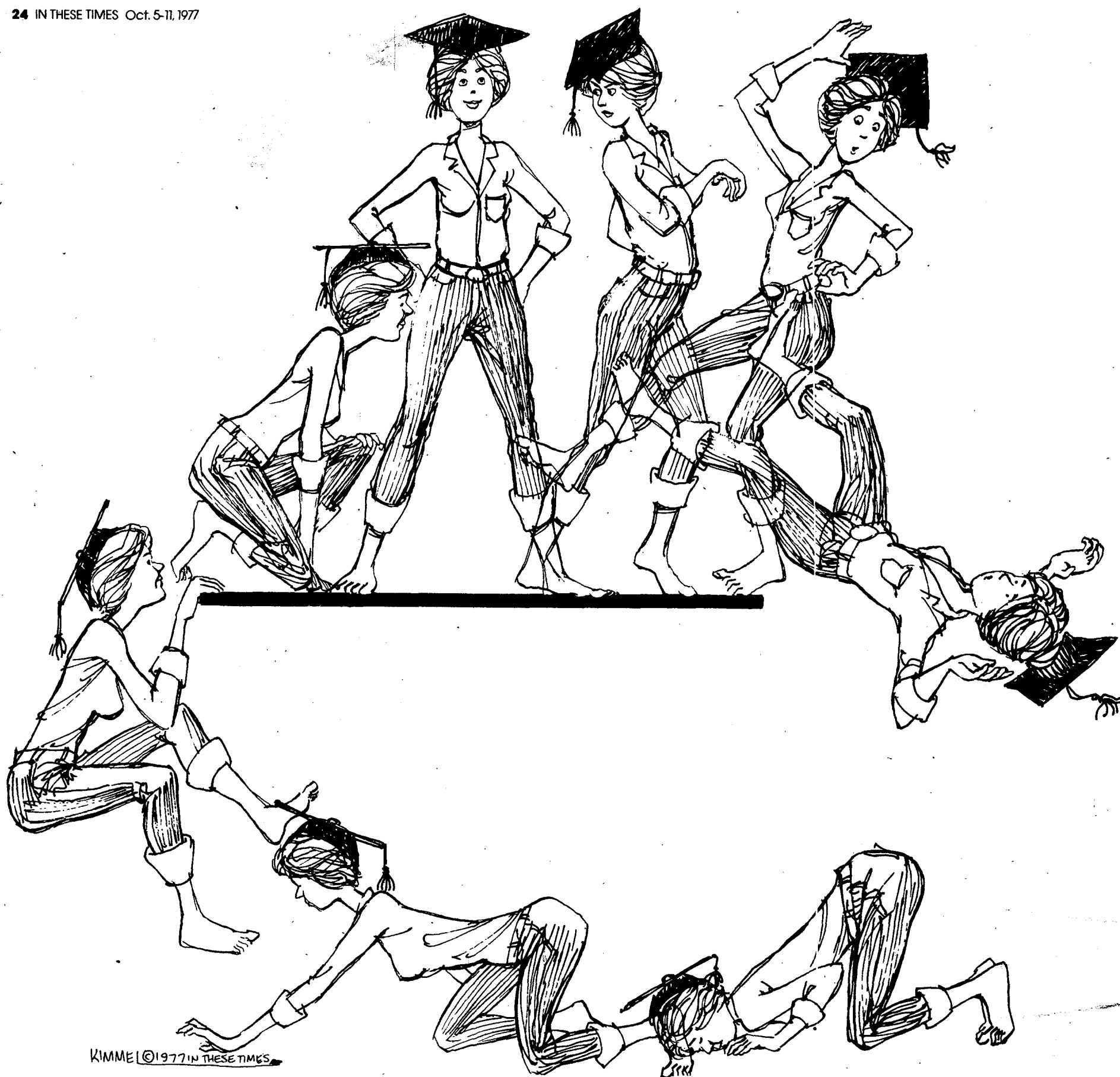
A 26-year-old director, John Landis, was hired on the strength of a movie called *Schlock*, which he wrote, directed and produced when he was 22. A vast cast was assembled, including a few guest stars of uncertain magnitude. (TV's Bill

Bixby; Henry Gibson, of Laugh-In fame; an ex-Mr. World; and Rick Baker, who plays the smashing gorilla in the first morning news program, and was last seen as King Kong in the Di Laurentis version.)

Kentucky Fried Movie has already opened in New York and Los Angeles, playing big theatres and small ones, in all kinds of neighborhoods. So far, despite critical pans (and praise) audiences have been large and loud. So far no one has picketed or set off stink bombs. The Abrahams-Zucker trio are marketing their "other" script, and director Landis is making his third feature.

It's all very remarkable. But perhaps the most remarkable thing of all is that the film is rated R. There must not have been any X's lying around the rating office that day.

—J.S.



I was a scab (part-time); or The seamy side of Academe

By Barbara Garson

Through a series of semi-stubborn, semi-altruistic mis-moves, my friend David wound up at 50 teaching English without tenure at a city college in Queens.

A much published reviewer and academic author, last year David received an offer to teach outside New York. In one more mis-move, he turned it down. He had been assured by the chairman of his English department that as their highest rated teacher he would be kept on despite cutbacks and his lack of seniority.

Naturally he was fired. To help him out, the English department gave him a chance to teach one course as an adjunct for \$1,000. As a professor he had taught three courses for \$21,000.

That's why I was a little wary when I was honored recently by the offer to teach playwriting at a prestigious university.

"You'll be an honorarium professor," the chairman explained. "Like a playwright in residence. It's just one course, open on a highly selective basis to twelve or fifteen honor students. We hope you'll honor us for the fall semester."

"That's a lot of honor," I said suspiciously. "Tell me, what do you pay in money?"

"Twelve hundred dollars."

"One thousand two hundred dollars for a full term supervising a dozen anguished undergraduates trying to turn

out their first full length plays!" Everyone knows that work expands to fill all the time available. And certainly 15 young playwrights could fill every crevice in anyone's life.

Still I was tempted. The fact is, I was having a lot of trouble with the play I was working on. I guess it's true—those who can, do. Those who temporarily can't, temporarily teach.

I was almost about to call back and accept when David started telling me what a great deal it was.

"First of all it's twelve hundred instead of a thousand. Second of all, look at the kind of school it is. Third of all they really treat you well over there. You get parking privileges, library privileges. It's like being a real professor."

"David," I said, "do you realize I'd be scabbing on you? How can you ever get a real teaching job if they can get PhD's and OBIE winning playwrights for twelve hundred dollars. Why for a total of three thousand six hundred dollars, no benefits, no sick pay, no health insurance, they get the work of a full professor."

"Not even unemployment," David explained. "Most of them insist on hiring you as an independent contractor. But how else can you work into a real job? Take it. It's a good deal."

Currently, the National Education Association calculates that 37 per cent of all college courses are taught by part-timers, piece workers, itinerant intellectuals. Certainly teaching assistants have always taught many introductory and survey courses. But more and more they are being taught by graduate PhDs. And these unemployed adults are paid even less than the T.A.s, who are often hired as part of a grant or scholarship.

"No David, you can scab on yourself, but I'm not going to scab on you."

"Oh for God's sake. Scabbing is when there's an organization, when there's a strike. You can't organize PhDs. Anyway, I'm a teacher, that's my whole life. If I don't do it someone else will. Anyway universities aren't businesses, they're not making money either. Anyway I have to teach, what else can I do?"

"Maybe you do," I said condescen-

dingly. "But I'm not an unemployed teacher, I'm an unemployed writer. So I'll just go down to office temps instead."

"My God," David exclaimed. "Three fifty an hour, no benefits, no sick pay, no unemployment insurance, and for that you're taking a permanent job away from women—lots of them single parents, heads of the family—who went to business school at night to learn how to work those machines! Jack London was right. You scabs really are the lowest thing on earth."

"For heaven's sake David, I have to do something. It's recession. Recession means taking from the poor to give to the rich. Everyone's working conditions are being eroded. Any new worker is scabbing. Don't I have to work somewhere?"

Instead I decided to write an article about it for twenty-five dollars or a second lifetime subscription to *IN THESE TIMES*.

"Oh don't look at me like that. I have to write, don't I? Anyway you can't organize free-lance writers. If I don't write it someone else will. Anyway magazines aren't like businesses. They're not making money either. Anyway I have to write. What else can I do?"

Barbara Garson is the author of *Macbird* and most recently of *ALL THE LIVELONG DAY: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work Penguin (\$1.95)*.